A NEW HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE DESCENT of the ROMANS, TO THE DEMISE of his late Majesty, GEORGE II.

INSCRIBED TO His present Majesty, GEORGE III.

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HISTORY is *philosophy teaching by examples.*
Bolingbroke *from* Dion. Hali.

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MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

THE
History of ENGLAND.

The HISTORY *of* RICHARD III. *continued.* A. D. 1483.

THOUGH Richard did not expect to find the duke of Buckingham so well prepared, he had taken such wise precautions as enabled him to bring an army into the field immediately; and he ordered his troops to assemble at Leicester, resolving to go in quest of the enemy and give him battle before he should be joined by his allies. He would have found it difficult, however, to prevent the

junction of the confederates, had not they been kept aſunder by a ſudden and unforeſeen accident.

The duke of Buckingham advanced by long and haſty marches to the ſide of the Severne, in his way to meet his friends in the counties of Devon and Dorſet; but by the heavy and continued rains which happened to fall at this juncture, the river had overflowed the banks in ſuch a manner, as to deluge the whole adjacent country; ſo that for ſix days, he could neither croſs the ſtream, nor find ſubſiſtence for his army.

His Welch followers, partly moved by ſuperſtition at this extraordinary event, and partly diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, began to deſert in ſuch numbers, that, in a few days, the duke was totally abandoned, and left only with a ſingle domeſtic. In this wretched condition, he ſaw no other reſource than that of concealing himſelf, until he ſhould be able to retrieve his ruined affairs.

He therefore took refuge in the houſe of one Banniſter, who had once been his ſervant, and owed his whole fortune to the liberality of the duke and his father. Richard was no ſooner apprized of the diſperſion of his enemies, than he iſſued a proclamation, offering the ſum of a thouſand pounds

pounds for the head of the duke of Buckingham; and Banniſter was ſuch a baſe and perfidious villain as to betray his maſter and benefactor for this reward.

He diſcovered him to the ſheriff of Shropſhire, who, with a band of armed men, encompaſſed the houſe, and ſeized the unfortunate duke in the diſguiſe of a peaſant. He was conducted to Shrewſbury, and earneſtly begged he might be allowed to ſpeak to his majeſty; but this was a favour he could not procure; and he was inſtantly beheaded, by Richard's order, without any form of trial.

His friends, who waited for his paſſing the Severne, being apprized of the deſertion of his Welch troops, diſperſed immediately: ſome concealed themſelves in the houſes of their friends; others took refuge in ſanctuaries; but the greateſt part ſet ſail for Brittany, and the marquis of Dorſet was of that number.

Mean while, the earl of Richmond, ſuppoſing that his officers in England were ſtill in a proſperous ſituation, embarked at St. Malo about the latter end of October, with five thouſand men, on board of forty veſſels, an armament with which he had been furniſhed by the duke of Brittany; but his fleet was diſperſed by a ſtorm, which drove part of

his ships on the coast of France, and obliged the rest to put back to the place, from whence they had taken their departure.

The ship that carried the earl himself, having weathered the storm, arrived at Pool in Dorsetshire, where seeing the shore covered with troops, he declined to land, but sent some men ashore in the boat, to enquire whether they were friends or enemies. The commander of the English forces told them, he belonged to the duke of Buckingham, who had sent him thither to watch the arrival of the earl of Richmond.

But whether Henry found them to be the militia of the country, collected there by Richard's officers, or was unwilling to land without the forces which had embarked on the expedition, he hovered for a few days on the coast, in hopes of being joined by his fleet; and as none of his vessels appeared, he sailed back to Normandy, where he received intelligence of Buckingham's catastrophe.

Then he returned to the court of Brittany, where he met with the marquis of Dorset, and the other refugees, who in some measure comforted him for his disappointment, by acquainting him, that Richard was held in the utmost abhorrence by his subjects, who would not fail to take arms against him with the first opportunity.

Henry

Henry conſidered this circumſtance as a happy omen of his future ſucceſs; and the duke of Brittany engaging to continue his aſſiſtance, he determined to make another attempt with all convenient diſpatch. Mean while he bound himſelf by a ſolemn oath, in the cathedral of Rennes, that he would eſpouſe the princeſs Elizabeth, or, in caſe of her death, her younger ſiſter Cecilia; and he had no ſooner laid himſelf under this obligation, than all the Engliſh who were preſent, did homage and ſwore fealty to him as king of England.

While Henry was making theſe preparations for aſſerting his claim to the Engliſh throne, Richard ſacrificed a great number of victims to his vengeance; and among the reſt, Sir Thomas St. Leger, who had married his own ſiſter Anne, widow of the duke of Exeter.

In order to diſpatch theſe executions, and avoid the tedious formalities of the law, he gave a commiſſion to Sir Ralph Aſhton to exerciſe the office of vice-conſtable, with power to condemn and execute immediately, all perſons whatſoever, guilty, or *ſuſpected to be guilty*, of high-treaſon, without benefit of appeal or form of proceſs.

Aſhton, who ſeems to have been of a temper cogenial with that of his maſter, executed

executed his commission to the entire satisfaction of the barbarous tyrant; for he forthwith made a progress through the western counties which he filled with blood and lamentation.

All opposition being thus suppressed, the king summoned a parliament, which met in the month of January;* and as none of the members durst venture to dispute his pleasure, an act was made, declaring the illegitimacy of Edward's children, and ratifying the pretended right and irregular election of Richard.

They likewise passed a bill of attainder against Henry earl of Richmond, and all his partizans, including all those who had any share in the duke of Buckingham's conspiracy, except the countess of Richmond, against whom no accusation had been lodged.

Richard, however, enjoined her husband lord Stanley to watch her conduct with a jealous eye; and in order to engage that nobleman more firmly in his interest, he appointed him lord high constable of England, with authority over Ashton, who had already performed the service for which he was commissioned.

Richard

* A. D. 1484.

Richard imagined, that, by these executions, he had entirely extinguished the spirit of rebellion: but Thomas Hutton, whom he had sent ambassador to the court of Brittany, on his return to England informed him, that the design of the invasion was not yet laid aside; that the duke had engaged to continue his assistance to the earl of Richmond; and that Henry and the English refugees had frequent consultations, to concert the means of executing their project.

The king believed he had so much humbled the spirit of the English, that no person would venture to rebel against his government; but, in order to render himself still more secure, he resolved to fortify his throne with foreign alliances. He had already confirmed the treaties with Spain and Portugal, and he now dispatched ambassadors to the archduke, governour of the Low-Countries, for his son Philip, who, by his mother, was, like the princes of Castile and Portugal, descended from the house of Lancaster.

The pretext of this embassy was to renew the commercial truce between Flanders and England; but the ambassadors were ordered to inquire whether that court had any designs upon the crown of England, or had entered

entered into any engagements with the pretender: at the same time Richard sent envoys to the court of France, to procure a prolongation of the truce with that kingdom.

As he had reason to think that the duke of Brittany had espoused the cause of the earl of Richmond, he resolved to use his utmost endeavours to detach him from the interest of that nobleman: and an accident furnished him with a very favourable opportunity. The duke, being old and infirm, was entirely guided by his treasurer Peter Landais, the son of a taylor, who behaved himself with so much pride and insolence, that he incurred the hatred of all the Bretons.

In the course of this very year, the nobility had engaged in a combination against him, and attempted to arrest his person in the duke's palace; but their scheme not succeeding, they were declared rebels and traitors by the interest and intrigues of the enraged favourite.

Landais, conscious of the weight of popular odium under which he laboured at home, resolved to strengthen himself by foreign connexions; and, with this view, sent ambassadors to Richard, who readily embraced his proposals. A truce was concluded between Brittany and England; and,

by

by another private treaty, the king agreed to aſſiſt the duke with a thouſand archers, for the ſupport of his miniſter, who, in all probability, engaged to deliver the earl of Richmond into the hands of Richard: at leaſt, he undertook that Henry ſhould receive no further aſſiſtance from the duke his maſter.

As James IV. of Scotland was a deſcendant of the houſe of Somerſet, the king imagined that he muſt naturally be inclined to favour the cauſe of the earl of Richmond. He therefore concluded a truce with this prince for the ſpace of one year, and agreed to a contract of marriage between his niece Anne, daughter of the duke of Suffolk, and the duke of Rothſay, eldeſt ſon of the Scottiſh monarch.

Richard's ſon, the prince of Wales, dying about this time, he declared that young lady's brother, the earl of Lincoln, preſumptive heir to the crown, and propoſed to have this declaration confirmed by parliament.

To render himſelf ſtill more ſecure, he ſent an embaſſy of obedience to pope Innocent VIII. who, upon the death of Sixtus IV. had lately been advanced to the pontifical chair; and, in a ſhort time after he had taken theſe prudent meaſures,

Charles

Charles VIII. king of France, demanded a safe-conduct for the ambassadors he proposed to send to the court of London.

Landais, minister of the duke of Brittany, having no occasion for the archers which had been promised in the treaty, Richard found that he had nothing to expect from his friendship, unless he could gratify him with some other advantages. Accordingly, on pretence of prolonging the truce, he entered into a new agreement with the duke and his favourite, and is said to have offered very considerable rewards for the person of Henry; during whose life, he could never think himself secure from danger.

The duke, by this time, was so much oppressed with years and infirmities, that he was altogether incapable of managing the affairs of government; so that, in effect, Landais acted as sovereign of Brittany; and, to him the king of England resolved chiefly to apply.

Richard is said to have granted letters patent, re-instating Francis II. duke of Bretagne, in the earldom of Richmond, and all its dependencies; but, with regard to Landais, the nature of the reward which he expected is not so perfectly known.

Richard

Richard made very large and magnificent promiſes; but the other, it ſeems, inſiſted upon having ſomething of a more ſolid and ſubſtantial nature: and, before the treaty was compleated, the earl of Richmond was apprized of the negociation, by Moreton biſhop of Ely, who, having ſpies in the court of England, was informed that the king had frequent and long conferences with the biſhop of Leon, ambaſſador from the duke of Bretagne.

Henry, ſtartled at this intelligence, determined to withdraw into France, and, for that purpoſe, ſecretly procured a paſſport from king Charles; but, as he imagined that Landais had employed emiſſaries to watch his motions, he found himſelf greatly perplexed about the means of effecting his eſcape.

The duke of Bretagne had juſt recovered from a fit of lethargy, with which he had been lately ſeized, and during which his miniſter had carried on the negociation with Richard; the earl of Richmond ſent all his Engliſh friends and attendants to felicitate that prince, in his name, on the re-eſtabliſhment of his health, naturally ſuppoſing that they would not ſuſpect him of any deſign to withdraw, while ſo many hoſtages were at the court of Brittany.

The scheme succeeded beyond his expectation: being left almost alone at Vannes, he found an opportunity to escape in disguise, attended only by five persons: he instantly struck off from the high road, and rode across the country through lanes and solitary paths, without halting, until he reached Angers, the capital of Anjou.

Happy was it for him, that he used this dispatch; otherwise he must certainly have been taken: for his departure from Vannes was no sooner known, than those who were employed to watch his motions, pursued him with such expedition that they reached the frontiers in less than one hour after he had passed the confines of Brittany.

The duke being informed that he had fled for fear of being betrayed by Landais, was enraged against his favourite, and permitted all the English in his dominions to join the earl, to whom, at the same time, he sent his compliments and proffers of service.

After a short stay at Angers, Henry went to Langeais, where he was hospitably entertained at the court of Charles, though it was still involved in cabals and factions; and here he was joined by the earl of Oxford, who, by order of Edward IV. had been

been committed to cuſtody in the caſtle of Hammes in Picardy. Having heard in priſon that the earl of Richmond laid claim to the crown of England, he had perſuaded the governor of that fortreſs to eſpouſe the cauſe of Henry; and now they came in company to pay their reſpects to him at the French court.

The earl of Oxford brought a conſiderable acceſſion of intereſt to his party; and ſeveral noblemen in England gave him private aſſurances that they would ſupport his cauſe, with all their might, whenever they ſhould find a proper opportunity to declare againſt Richard: among theſe was the lord Stanley, who had eſpouſed the earl's mother; and, on that account, was ſo much the object of the king's jealouſy, that he could not procure leave to retire to his houſe in the country, until he had delivered his ſon as an hoſtage for his peaceable behaviour.

Richard exerted himſelf with ſo much activity and diligence, in diſcovering the nature of the plot which his enemies had formed againſt him; that he, at laſt, came to know the moſt material circumſtance, which was the union of the queen's friends with the adherents of the houſe of Lancaſter, by means of Henry's marriage with Elizabeth.

Alarmed at this intelligence, he determined, if poſſible, to defeat a match which might occaſion the ſubverſion of his throne; and he ſaw no method ſo effectual, as that of making Elizabeth his own wife.

This ſcheme would have appeared impracticable, and even abſurd and ridiculous, to a perſon influenced by more ſcruples of conſcience, or religion, than Richard poſſeſſed: it was attended with three obſtacles, ſeemingly unſurmountable; there was a neceſſity for removing his preſent conſort; for obtaining the conſent of the queen dowager, whoſe brothers and ſons he had murdered; and for procuring a diſpenſation from the pope, for an inceſtous marriage between an uncle and a niece.

But Richard was a jeſuit, and even more than a jeſuit, in his principles. When once he had ſet his heart upon the attainment of any end, he never heſitated about the nature of the means.

He began the execution of this ſtrange project, by ſending ſeveral civil meſſages to the queen dowager, implying, that there was nothing of which he was ſo deſirous as to live upon good terms with her, that he might have an opportunity of convincing her what a tender regard he had for her intereſt.

He

He acknowledged she had met with very severe and rigorous treatment, to atone for which he engaged to allot a considerable pension for her subsistence; to confer profitable employments on her two brothers; and to provide her daughters with proper husbands.

As he knew these professions would appear suspicious to the queen, he ordered his emissaries to ascribe them to the dictates of his conscience, which was filled with remorse for the injuries he had done to her family.

They assured her, that his intention was to advance the princess Elizabeth to the throne, as his own son was now dead; and that he would revoke the declaration he had made in favour of the earl of Lincoln. The other part of the promise, concerning the safety of the queen and her children, as well as the intended provision, he confirmed by a solemn oath, which he took in an assembly of the lords spiritual and temporal.

These tempting promises made a deep impression upon the mind of the queen, who was heartily tired of being confined in a sanctuary, which was little better than a prison, and where she was very ill supplied with the necessaries of life; who loved her brothers with the most tender affection; and

who reflected, that, as Richmond's attempt had proved unsuccessful, she and her daughters had nothing to expect but ruin and destruction, should she provoke the king by rejecting his offer.

Influenced by these considerations, she not only repaired to court with her five daughters, where they were very favourably received; but also sent a letter to her brother, the marquis of Dorset, desiring him to abandon the earl of Richmond, and return to England, where he might depend upon the favour and generosity of Richard. The marquis, who was a man of great weakness and boundless ambition, was so charmed with the tempting prospect, that he withdrew privately from Paris, in order to go over to England; but he was overtaken, and brought back by the adherents of Henry, who persuaded him to stay and share his fortune.

Richard having thus accomplished the difficult part of his project, resolved next to get rid of his wife, that he might be at liberty to marry his niece Elizabeth; and whatever method he took for this purpose, certain it is, she did not long survive her son the prince of Wales: the friends of Richard, (for even Richard has met with some friends among the later writers) allege that

that ſhe died of grief for the loſs of that young prince: but moſt hiſtorians agree that he either broke her heart with unkindneſs, or diſpatched her with poiſon; and thus ſhe ſuffered the puniſhment which, in ſome meaſure, ſhe deſerved, for having married the ruffian who had murdered her firſt huſband the prince of Wales, ſon of Henry VI. at the battle of Tewkeſbury.*

The king affected to be overwhelmed with ſorrow for the death of his conſort, who was interred with great pomp and ſolemnity; but notwithſtanding his ſolemn grimace, ſhe was hardly in her tomb, when he made propoſals of marriage to his niece Elizabeth.

She received his addreſſes with aſtoniſhment and horror, and begged he would never more ſpeak to her on that ſubject; but he did not doubt of being capable to overcome her reluctance, though he poſtponed his deſign, until a more favourable opportunity ſhould offer, as he did not think it would be prudent to force her inclinations.

In the mean time, being informed that the governour of Hammes had revolted, he

* Her name was Anne, ſecond daughter and coheir of Richard Nevil, the famous earl of Warwick, whoſe eldeſt daughter was married to king Richard's brother George duke of Clarence.

he ordered the commander of Calais to retake that fortreſs; and this order was executed with ſo much expedition, that the earl of Oxford, who marched to its relief, could not arrive in the neighbourhood, until the place had ſurrendered: the garriſon, however, joined the earl of Richmond.

The king of England had fitted out a large ſquadron of ſhips to oppoſe the invaſion of Henry; but the truce with Brittany having been prolonged for ſeven years, and France diſcovering very little inclination to aſſiſt her enemy, he thought it needleſs to incur the expence of maintaining a fleet, and ordered it to be laid up in the beginning of ſummer.*

The earl of Richmond, reſolving to embrace this opportunity, ſolicited the French miniſtry for ſuccours with ſo much importunity, that they at laſt agreed to comply with his requeſt; not that they believed his enterprize would ſucceed, but they imagined it was for the intereſt of France to inflame the diſſenſions of England.

They therefore undertook to furniſh him with two thouſand men, and ſhips for conveying them to England, and even ſupplied him with a ſum of money; though they demanded a certain number of hoſtages, as a ſe-

* A. D. 1485.

ſecurity for the repayment of their expences. The earl, who had ſome reaſon to ſuſpect the fidelity and attachment of the marquis of Dorſet, was glad of this occaſion to leave him at Paris, until he himſelf ſet out for Roüen, which was appointed as the general rendezvous of the forces.

There he received the diſagreeable tidings of the queen's death, and heard that Richard intended to eſpouſe his niece Elizabeth, and give her ſiſter Cecilia to one of his favourites. He inſtantly aſſembled a council of his friends to conſult about the meaſures he ought to purſue; and they adviſed him to marry the ſiſter of Sir Thomas Herbert, a knight of great honour, power, and intereſt in Wales, and whoſe aſſiſtance would be of ſingular ſervice to the ſupport of his cauſe.

Henry approved the advice, and immediately ſent a meſſenger to Herbert with his propoſal; but the roads were ſo ſtrictly guarded that he could not execute his commiſſion: and this was a very lucky diſappointment for the earl of Richmond, who, if the match had taken effect, would, in all probability, have loſt the intereſt of Edward's family and their adherents, who eſpouſed his cauſe for no other reaſon, than becauſe they imagined he would happily unite

nite the house of York and Lancaster by his marriage with the princess Elizabeth.

Henry, in a few days after his arrival at Roüen, received letters from England, desiring him to land in Wales, where he would find the people ready to declare in his favour, together with a large sum of money, which had been privately collected for his service.

He was likewise informed, that the whole kingdom was dissatisfied with the character and conduct of Richard, who was every day becoming more odious and unpopular, and who might be dethroned with little or no difficulty, as he had made no preparations to oppose an invasion.

Encouraged by this intelligence, the earl hastened his departure; and, sailing from Harfleur on the last day of July, arrived with his troops on the sixth day of August, in Milford-haven in Wales. Next day he proceeded to Haverford, where he was received amidst the shouts and acclamations of the people: from hence he sent an express to his mother, with an account of his arrival, and his design to advance immediately towards London: then he dispatched some messengers to his friends in the different parts of the country, desiring them to join him on his march; and soon after set out for

for Shrewſbury, where he intended to croſs the Severne.

Richard, being apprized of his landing, commanded Sir Thomas Herbert to raiſe the militia of Wales, and check the earl's progreſs, until he himſelf ſhould be able to march againſt him; but Herbert, having been already gained over by Henry's friends, allowed him to paſs without moleſtation. He was joined on his march by Sir Rees ap Thomas, the moſt powerful commoner in Wales, and a great number of the gentlemen of that country; ſo that his army was daily reinforced; and, in a few days, he reached Shrewſbury, which opened its gates at his firſt approach.

Mean while the lord Stanley, and his brother Sir William, levied a body of five thouſand men, on pretence of aſſiſting Richard; and they proceeded to Litchfield, as if they had intended to oppoſe the invader; but Sir William had a private interview with Henry, whom he aſſured that his brother would join him, as ſoon as he could take ſuch a ſtep with any regard to the ſafety of his ſon, the lord Strange, who was an hoſtage in the hands of the tyrant.

Richard had appointed the rendezvous of his forces at the town of Nottingham, where they had now aſſembled to the number of twelve

twelve thousand men. Understanding that the earl designed to advance to London, he determined to give him battle on his march; and, with that view, took post between Lincoln and Coventry.

In the mean time, Henry proceeded to Litchfield, from whence the lord Stanley withdrew at his approach, and encamped at Atherstone; and the earl, having concerted his measures with the two brothers, directed his route to Leicester, where he resolved to hazard a general engagement. In his march to Tamworth, he fell behind his army, and, in a fit of musing, lost his way; so that he was forced to lie all night at a village, without daring to ask the road for fear of being discovered, and seized by his enemies.

Next morning he found means to rejoin his army at Tamworth, where, hearing that his friends had been greatly alarmed at his absence, he told them he had gone to confer with some particular noblemen, who did not chuse as yet to declare in his favour. That same day he had a private interview with the lord Stanley, at Atherstone; and, on the morrow, understanding that Richard had marched from Leicester to attack him, he determined to save him one half of the way.

On

On the twenty-second day of August, the two armies approached each other at Bosworth, which is rendered famous in history by the battle which decided the quarrel between the houses of York and Lancaster. The van of Richard's army was commanded by the duke of Norfolk; and he himself took his station in the center, with the crown upon his head, either as a mark of distinction, or a challenge to his enemy.

The earl of Richmond's troops amounted only to five thousand men, ill cloathed and worse accoutred: they were disposed in two lines; the first commanded by the earl of Oxford, and the other by Henry in person. Lord Stanley, who advanced from Atherstone, posted his troops in a piece of ground fronting the space between the two armies; and his brother, at the head of two thousand men, stood opposite to him on the other side.

As Richard was, by no means, satisfied of Stanley's fidelity, he ordered him to join his army; and receiving only an equivocal answer, he would instantly have put his son to death, had he not been dissuaded by the intercession of his generals, who observed, that such a step could be of no real service to the royal cause, but would certainly provoke Stanley and his brother to declare for

the enemy: though perhaps their deſign was to ſtand neuter during the fight, and then join with the victor.

Richard was perſuaded by theſe arguments; but he was guilty of a capital error in allowing the two brothers to act as they ſhould find it convenient. His army being ſuperior in number to that of Richmond and the Stanleys, when united, he ought to have placed two bodies oppoſite to the brothers, with orders to fall upon them if they ſhould attempt to join the enemy, while he himſelf, with the remainder, might have given battle to Henry.

The two leaders having addreſſed their men in a ſhort ſpeech, the earl of Richmond made a motion to the left, in order to avoid a moraſs that lay between the two armies; and by this prudent ſtep he not only ſecured his right flank, but alſo obtained another advantage, namely, that of having the ſun at his back, while it flaſhed directly in the face of the enemy.

Richard, ſeeing him advance, commanded the trumpets to ſound a charge; and the battle began by a general flight of arrows, after which the king's army ruſhed forwards to cloſe combat. The lord Stanley, obſerving that the duke of Norfolk extended his line to the left, with a view to attack the enemy in

in flank, ſuddenly joined the earl of Richmond's right wing, in order to withſtand the aſſault; and Norfolk, ſeeing this junction, made a halt to cloſe the files, which had been too much opened for the extenſion of his line.

The parties being now more equally matched, the fight was renewed, though not with equal vigour on both ſides. The king's troops ſeemed to be diſheartened by the conduct of the two Stanleys, not knowing but their example might be followed by others in the heat of the action: on the other hand, the earl of Oxford attacked them with ſuch fury, as tended greatly to damp their ſpirits, and fill their hearts with fear and apprehenſion.

Richard, in order to encourage them by his preſence and example, advanced to the front of the battle: there obſerving his antagoniſt, who had come to the firſt line for the ſame purpoſe, he couched his lance, and clapping ſpurs to his horſe, ran againſt him with ſuch impetuoſity, that he killed Sir William Brandon, father of Charles Brandon, afterwards duke of Suffolk, and unhorſed Sir John Cheney, an officer diſtinguiſhed for his ſtrength and dexterity.

Henry, though he had no great inclination to encounter ſuch an adverſary, ad-

vanced to meet him, and kept him at his ſword's point, until they were ſeparated by the ſoldiers, who interpoſed between them. While Richard made this deſperate aſſault upon the perſon of his competitor, Sir William Stanley joined the earl of Richmond, and charging the royaliſts in flank, drove their right wing upon the main body, which was ſo confounded at this unexpected event, that they began to fly with great precipitation; while the earl of Northumberland, who commanded a large detachment, ſtood inactive, and even cauſed his men to throw down their arms.

Richard finding it impoſſible to rally his troops, which were by this time in the utmoſt diſorder, and either diſdaining to ſurvive the diſgrace of a defeat, or dreading the conſequence of falling into the hands of his enemy, ruſhed forwards into the hotteſt of the battle; where after having committed a moſt terrible carnage, he was, at laſt, overwhelmed by numbers, and periſhed by a fate too mild and honourable for his many heinous and deteſtable crimes.

Though the battle laſted about two hours, including the time ſpent in the purſuit, there was not above one thouſand of the royaliſts ſlain in the action, becauſe the greater part betook themſelves to flight without ſtriking a blow;

a blow; and the earl did not loſe above an hundred men, of whom Sir William Brandon was the moſt conſiderable.

On the ſide of the conquered, beſides Richard, there fell the duke of Norfolk, who is ſaid to have been forewarned of the intention of Northumberland and the two Stanleys, by a diſtich fixed on the gate of the houſe in which he lodged at Leiceſter:* the lord Ferrers of Chartley, Sir Richard Radcliff, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, underwent the ſame fate: the earl of Surrey, ſon to the duke of Norfolk, was taken priſoner and committed to cuſtody in the Tower of London, from which, however, he was ſoon releaſed.

The earl of Northumberland, and ſome adherents of Richard, were not only indulged with a pardon, but were admitted into favour by Richmond: others had the good fortune to eſcape; but Cateſby, the principal confident and wicked miniſter of the king, who had ſo baſely betrayed Haſtings, having fallen into the hands of the victors, was beheaded at Leiceſter two days after the battle, together with ſome others

* The verſes were,

"Jack of Norfolk, be not too bold;
"For Dicken, thy maſter, is bought and ſold."

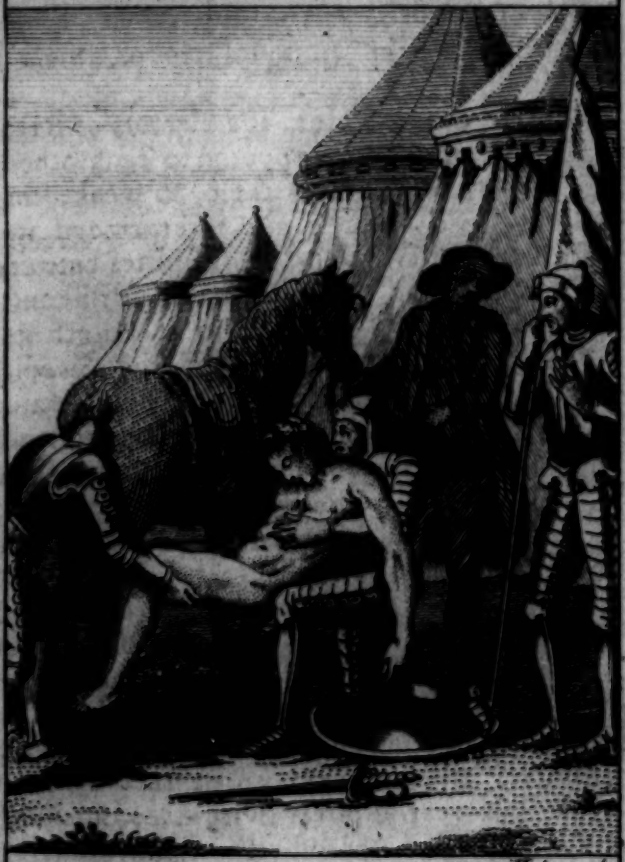
of the same stamp, who had been the chief instruments of all the tyranny and oppression of Richard.

Immediately after the action, the earl of Richmond fell down on his knees in the open field, and offered his humble and grateful acknowledgments to the Almighty for the blessing he had vouchsafed to his arms: then riding up to an eminence he commended the soldiers for their gallant behaviour, and promised to reward them according to their deserts.

The crown being found among the spoils of the field, was, by the lord Stanley, placed upon the head of Henry, who was saluted as king by the whole army; and from that moment, he bore the title and exercised the authority of Sovereign.

Richard's body being stripped stark naked, and covered with wounds, filth, and blood, was thrown over a horse's back, with the arms on one side, and the legs on the other, and carried to Leicester, where, after having been exposed to public view for the space of two days, and treated with every mark of insult and indignity, it was buried in the Abbey-church in a private manner; though Henry, from a regard to the honour of his family, caused a tomb of party-coloured marble, adorned with

The Death of RICHARD III at the Battle of Bosworth.



Hulett sculp.

Engravd for Rider's History of England

BRITISH
MUSEUM

with his ſtatue in alabaſter, to be erected over his grave.*

Thus periſhed, in the thirty-fourth year of his age and the third of his reign, Richard III. of that name, one of the moſt odious and deteſtable tyrants that ever diſgraced the Engliſh throne. His ſtature was ſmall; his aſpect was gloomy, ſevere and diſagreeable: one of his arms was withered; and one ſhoulder higher than the other, from whence he acquired the ſurname of Crook-back.

Nor were the members of his body more deformed than the diſpoſitions of his mind. Ambition ſeems to have been the ruling paſſion of his ſoul, to the gratification of which he ſacrificed every virtue, private, public and divine. Dark, ſilent, and reſerved, he was ſo much maſter of diſſimulation, that it was almoſt impoſſible to dive into his real ſentiments, when he wanted to conceal his deſigns. Falſe, treacherous, ungrateful, he never ſcrupled to violate the moſt ſacred ties

* This monument ſtood till the diſſolution of abbies in the reign of Henry VIII. when it was pulled down and utterly demoliſhed, ſince which time his grave being over-run with briers and nettles is become extremely obſcure, and can hardly be diſcovered. The ſtone coffin, in which his body lay, was converted into a drinking-trough for horſes at the White-horſe-inn in Leiceſter. *Sandford.*

ties of conſcience and religion, whenever he found it conducive to his intereſt; and ſtern, cruel, and revengeful,* he waded through ſeas of blood to the attainment of that crown, which he was ſo unworthy to wear, and which he enjoyed for ſo ſhort a ſpace of time.

The murder of Henry VI. and his ſon the prince of Wales, both of whom are generally believed to have fallen by his hands; the untimely fate of his brother the duke of Clarence, which was chiefly owing to his artful intrigues and baſe inſinuations; the murder of lord Haſtings in the Tower of London, and of the earl of Rivers and Sir Richard Grey in the caſtle of Pontefract, who were ſacrificed merely to his revenge and ambition; the unhappy end of his nephew Edward V. and the duke of York, who were ſmothered in their beds by his inhuman orders; the falſe and villainous aſperſions thrown on the character of his own mother, in order to baſtardize his brothers Edward IV. and the duke of Clarence; theſe,

* He was often ſtigmatized by the epithet of the Boar: and he and his three favourites, Cateſby, Radcliff, and Lovel, were expoſed in a ſatirical couplet, which was frequently repeated in his life-time.

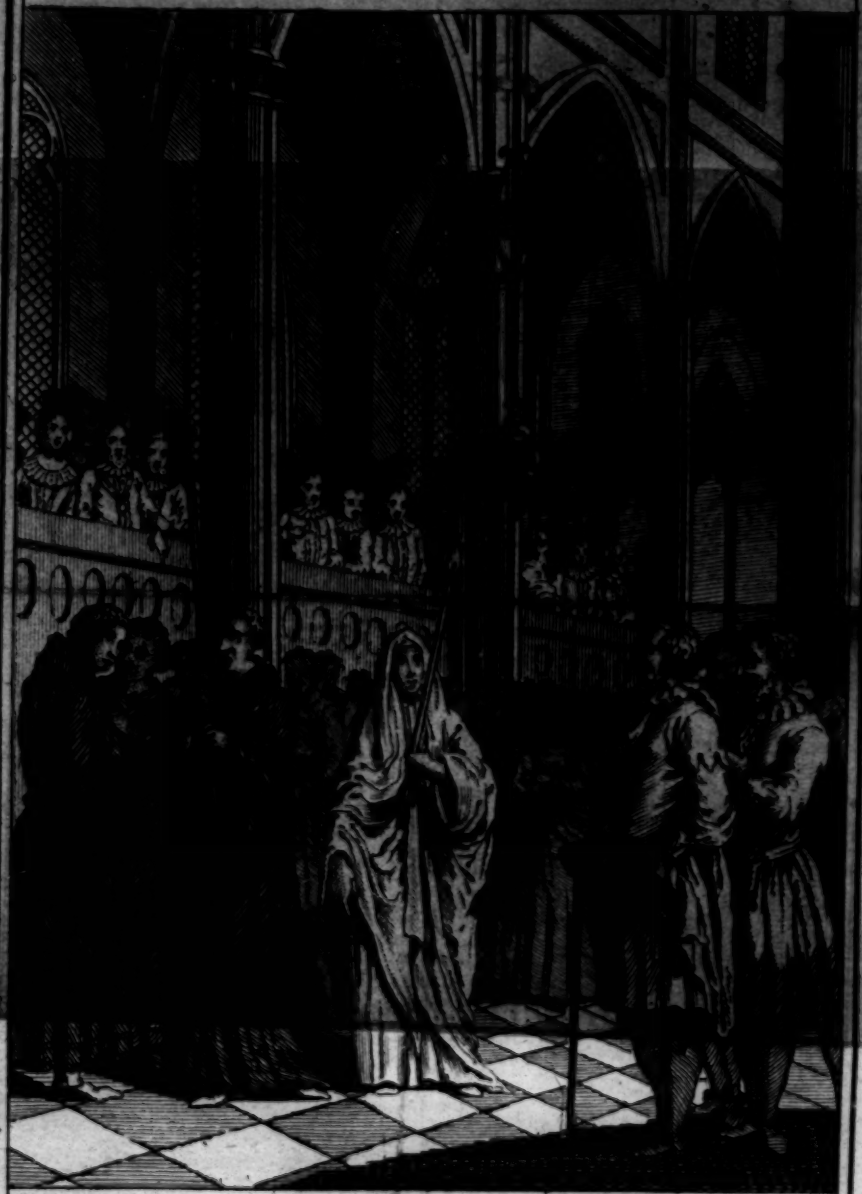
"The Cat, the Rat, and Lovel the Dog,
"Rule all England under the Hog."

theſe, and many other crimes of a no leſs atrocious nature, compoſe ſuch a ſcene of guilt and impiety as hardly ever centered in any other perſon; they juſtly expoſed him to the hatred and reſentment of his contemporaries, and have rendered his name the object of univerſal deteſtation to all ſucceeding ages.*

* Richard left one natural ſon, a minor, whom he had appointed governour of Calais, Guiſnes, and all the Marches of Picardy belonging to the Engliſh. In this patent he is ſtiled John of Glouceſter. *Rymer.*

JANE SHORE does Penance
at St Pauls Church

JANE SHORE does Penance
at St. Pauls Church



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BOOK X.

Containing an account of the Engliſh *affairs from the Union of the two Houſes of* York *and* Lancaſter, *to the Union of the two Crowns, including the Space of One Hundred and Eighteen Years.*

HENRY VII. ſurnamed TUDOR, and the firſt King of *England* of that Family. A. D. 1485.

THE earl of Richmond having thus paved his way to the throne, began to conſider upon what foundation he could moſt ſafely reſt his title to the ſovereign authority. There were three different kinds of right, to which he might eaſily

eaſily pretend; all of them extremely ſpecious and plauſible; but all of them liable to many objections.

The firſt was his deſcent from the houſe of Lancaſter, by his mother Margaret, a daughter of the Somerſet family, which was a baſtard branch of the Lancaſter line. The ſecond was his intended marriage with the princeſs Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter of Edward IV. by which means the titles of the two rival families would be mixed and united. And the third was the right of conqueſt, to which, he thought, the victory at Boſworth might give him a juſt claim.

But to this laſt, he knew, the nation would never agree; becauſe the victory he had obtained was only over a part of the Engliſh, and was entirely owing to the aſſiſtance of another part of the ſame people: beſides, ſuch a proceeding might give occaſion to ſuſpect that he meant to rule with arbitrary and deſpotic ſway; a ſuſpicion which would not only inflame the reſentment of his enemies to a greater height than ever, but would even alienate the affections of his beſt friends and adherents.

To the ſecond expedient he himſelf was extremely averſe, becauſe the people being more favourably inclined to the title of York than that of Lancaſter, he was afraid that,

that, ſhould his marriage with Elizabeth be deemed a neceſſary ſtep towards his elevation to the throne, he would be thought to reign only in right of his wife, upon whoſe death, without iſſue, her ſiſter or neareſt relation might lay claim to the crown; or even ſhould ſhe bring him children, he would be conſidered only as the guardian of his eldeſt ſon or daughter, who would be univerſally regarded as the only true and rightful ſovereign.

He therefore reſolved to reſt his title upon the firſt foundation; and to employ the other two expedients, as the neceſſary means of ſtrengthening and ſupporting his claim. Mean while, he determined to take ſuch precautions as might defeat or prevent any oppoſition that might be made to his meaſures.

With this view, he ordered Sir Robert Willoughby to convey the earl of Warwick to the Tower, from the caſtle of Sheriff-Hutton in Yorkſhire, to which he had been committed by the late king. As this nobleman, the ſon of the duke of Clarence, was the only male branch of the houſe of York, ſuppoſed to be then alive, Henry cauſed him to be ſtrictly watched in the Tower, and excluded from all intercourſe or correſpondence with others.

The princeſs Elizabeth had likewiſe been detained in a kind of honourable confinement by Richard, in the caſtle of Sheriff-Hutton; and Henry now ſent her a meſſage, deſiring ſhe would repair to London, and live with her mother, until the ſolemnization of their marriage, which, nevertheleſs, he deſigned to delay, until his own title ſhould be acknowledged by parliament.

He himſelf ſet out for the ſame place, and choſe to enter the city on a Saturday, becauſe he had gained the victory of Boſworth on that day of the week, which he ever after conſidered as propitious to his fortune. The mayor and companies of London met him at Shoreditch, from whence he made his public entry amidſt the ſhouts and acclamations of the people, who adored him as their deliverer, and the perſon by whoſe marriage with Elizabeth, all the rancour and hatred between the two families would for ever be extinguiſhed.

The citizens, however, were ſomewhat diſguſted at his paſſing through the ſtreets in a cloſe chariot, ſo that he could not be ſeen like their former kings, who always made their entrance on horſeback. He repaired directly to St. Paul's church, where he offered up the ſtandards he had taken;

and

and Te Deum being ſung, he retired to his lodging at the biſhop's palace.

On the very day after his arrival in London, he convoked a council of all the nobility and perſons of diſtinction who chanced to be in the city; and ſolemnly renewed the oath he had formerly taken to eſpouſe the princeſs Elizabeth. This ſtep was the more neceſſary, as a report had been induſtriouſly propagated that he had entered into a contract of marriage with Anne, daughter and heireſs of the duke of Burgundy.

He was firmly reſolved to perform his firſt engagement; but his intention was to delay his marriage until he ſhould have obtained the crown, leſt he ſhould be ſuppoſed to procure it only in virtue of that union with the houſe of York.

In the month of September, the city of London, and ſome other parts of the kingdom, were afflicted with a new diſtemper, commonly called the ſweating ſickneſs, from the ſymptoms with which it was attended. It was a kind of malignant fever, that threw the patients into a prodigious ſweat, and uſually carried them off in the ſpace of four and twenty hours.

This malady, however, was of ſhort continuance: it entirely ceaſed towards the latter end of October; and, even before it diſappeared, the method of cure was fully

aſcertained. This was to keep the patient moderately warm, and recruit his ſpirits with mild cordials, which, without encreaſing the heat to too great a height, aſſiſted nature in expelling the noxious humours.

Among the firſt acts of Henry's reign, he conferred the government of the Tower upon the earl of Oxford, who had always been warmly attached to the houſe of Lancaſter. Then he iſſued a proclamation, importing, that he had agreed to a truce, for one year, with the king of France; a circumſtance that greatly contributed to his intereſt in England, which was the more inclined to ſubmit to his government, as his title was owned by ſuch a prince as Charles, even before it was acknowledged by the Engliſh parliament.

His next care was to reward thoſe who had aſſiſted him in his late undertaking. His uncle Jaſper, earl of Pembroke, who had always treated him with the tenderneſs of a parent, and frequently delivered him from the ſnares of his enemies, was promoted to the title of duke of Bedford. The earldom of Derby was beſtowed upon Thomas lord Stanley, his own father-in-law, to whom he was chiefly indebted for the victory at Boſworth; and Edward Courtney

wa

was advanced to the title of earl of Devonshire.

The neceſſary preparations being made for the purpoſe, Henry was crowned with great pomp and ſolemnity, on the thirteenth day of October, by cardinal Bourchier, archbiſhop of Canterbury; and, immediately after the ceremony, he inſtituted a body-guard of fifty archers, called yeomen, under the command of a captain, to be in continual attendance upon his perſon; thus covering, with a pretence of grandeur, a prudent precaution, which, in all likelihood, he thought indiſpenſably neceſſary for his own ſafety.

This band has been kept up by all his ſucceſſors, who have encreaſed the number to one hundred, who are in daily waiting, beſides ſeventy ſupernumeraries; and when any one of the hundred dies, his place is ſupplied from among the ſeventy.

On the ſeventh day of November, the parliament aſſembled at Weſtminſter, and entailed the crown upon Henry, not by way of recognition or ordinance, but in the manner of ſettlement; enacting, that the inheritance of the crown ſhould reſt, remain, and abide, in him and the heirs of his body; and this ſtatute was afterwards confirmed by the pope's bull, in which, at the

ſame time, his titles of deſcent and conqueſt were mentioned.

The act of ſettlement and ſucceſſion being paſſed, a motion was made for annulling the ſentences of attainder which had been pronounced againſt Henry's adherents. But this affair was attended with ſome difficulty. A good number of theſe perſons were actually returned to ſerve in this parliament; and ſome members alledged, that they could not, with any appearance of juſtice, ſit as judges in their own cauſe. The king ſubmitted this point to the arbitration of the judges, who unanimouſly agreed that the members in queſtion ſhould withdraw from the houſe, until their attainder ſhould be reverſed by a new ſtatute.

Another debate enſued, concerning the king himſelf, who had been denounced a traitor and rebel by an authentic act of parliament. This point was ſtill more involved and perplexed than the former; becauſe he could not disjoin himſelf from the parliament without its being diſſolved; nor was he willing to ſubmit to a parliamentary examination. In this dilemma, the judges declared, that the poſſeſſion of the crown removes all defects, and clears the poſſeſſor from all ſentence, crime, or attainder. Theſe affairs being finiſhed, the parliament paſſed an act of attainder againſt the late king, under the name of Richard duke

duke of Glouceſter, as well as againſt the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Surrey, the lords Lovel, Ferrers, Zouche, Sir Richard Radcliff, Sir William Cateſby, Robert Middleton, William Berkley, and ſeveral other adherents of Richard; many of whom had been killed in the battle of Boſworth, and ſome had ſince loſt their lives on the ſcaffold.

By this means Henry at once gratified his revenge and his avarice; for the money ariſing from theſe confiſcations amounted to ſuch an immenſe ſum, that he had no occaſion to aſk a ſupply from parliament. He then publiſhed a general pardon in favour of all thoſe who had borne arms againſt him, provided they would ſubmit themſelves within a limited time; and immediately a great number left their ſanctuaries, and took the oath of allegiance.

Before the diſſolution of parliament, the lord Chandos, a native of Brittany, was created earl of Bath; Sir Giles d'Aubeney was honoured with the title of a baron; and Sir Robert Willoughby was made lord Brooke: at the ſame time, the king reſtored to Edward Stafford the dignity of duke of Buckingham, which he had loſt by the attainder of his father; and re-inſtated him in the poſſeſſion of all the lands belonging to his family, which had been confiſcated in the late reign.

The

The parliament being diſſolved about the latter end of November, Henry diſpatched into France Oliver King archdeacon of Oxford, with money to repay king Charles for the ſums he had lent towards fitting out the fleet which had brought him into England; in conſequence of which, the marquis of Dorſet and Sir John Bourchier who had been left as hoſtages at Paris, were permitted to return to their own country.

Oliver was likewiſe commiſſioned to prolong the truce between the two kingdoms, provided the French council were inclined to ſuch a meaſure.

In order to enable him to diſcharge his debt to the French monarch, Henry endeavoured to borrow ſix thouſand marks from the citizens of London; but it was not without ſome difficulty that they agreed to lend him two thouſand pounds, which he received with many expreſſions of gratitude, and repaid with great punctuality and honour.

Notwithſtanding the irreconcileable hatred which Henry bore to the houſe of York, he found it abſolutely neceſſary to perform the promiſe he had made to eſpouſe the princeſs Elizabeth; and the marriage was celebrated on the eighteenth day of January,* when the people expreſſed their joy with greater pomp and magnificence

* A. D. 1486.

ence than they had ſhewn on the day of he king's entry into London, or on that of is coronation.

This circumſtance was extremely diſagree- ble to Henry, who conſidered it as a plain roof of the popular affection to the houſe f York, for which he had conceived ſuch mortal averſion, that he even treated his ueen with the utmoſt coldneſs and indiffe- ence. He greedily embraced every oppor- unity of mortifying the friends of that fa- ily, towards whom he ever behaved ra- her as the head of a faction, than an im- artial ſovereign.

The celebration of the king's marriage as the more acceptable to the people, as t was immediately preceded with the news f a triennial truce concluded with Charles f France, who had formed a deſign to in- ade Brittany, and readily agreed to a ſuſ- enſion of arms, which would hinder the ing of England from aſſiſting that dutchy. s Henry, on the other hand, was an utter ranger to his deſigns, he imagined that he friendſhip of ſuch a monarch would ender him more formidable to his domeſtic nemies, who could not hope for any ſup- ort from that quarter.

In a few days after his marriage, he made tour into the Northern counties, which ad always expreſſed a particular regard for he perſon of Richard; and paſſed his Eaſter holidays

holidays at Lincoln, hoping his presence, and some acts of favour he intended to dispense, would entirely extinguish any discontent that might still prevail in that country.

While he was at Lincoln, he received intimation, that the lord Lovel, with Humphry and Thomas Stafford, had privately quitted the sanctuary at Colchester. Entirely regardless of this information, he continued his progress to York, where he heard that Lovel was advancing towards that place, at the head of three or four thousand men; and that the two Staffords had laid siege to the city of Worcester.

This intelligence gave him the greater uneasiness, as he found himself in the midst of the malecontents, with whom he suspected the rebels maintained a secret correspondence. Nevertheless, he concealed his suspicions, and immediately gave orders for raising forces in the neighbourhood of York, where his officers met with such success, that they soon assembled a body of three thousand men; the command of which was bestowed upon the king's uncle the duke of Bedford.

This nobleman was sent against the rebels, with express orders to decline a general engagement, as the troops were raw, undisciplined, and but indifferently affected

to

the cauſe; but he was enjoined to advance againſt them with an appearance of courage, and proclaim a pardon, in the king's name, to all who would lay down their arms, and ſubmit themſelves to the royal clemency.

This expedient had the deſired effect. The pardon was no ſooner publiſhed, than the lord Lovel, apprehenſive of being deſerted by his men, fled unattended into Lancaſhire, where he concealed himſelf for ſome time in the houſe of his friend Sir Thomas Broughton; and then paſſing the ſea, retired to the court of the dutcheſs dowager of Burgundy.

The two Staffords were no ſooner informed of this event, than they abandoned the ſiege of Worceſter; and being forſaken by their followers, took ſanctuary in the church of Colnham. But the King's-Bench declaring, that the privilege of this place could not protect traitors, they were dragged from thence: the elder brother Humphry ſuffered at Tyburn, and the younger, on account of his tender years, and of his having been ſeduced by the other, was indulged with a pardon.

On the third day of July, the Scottiſh ambaſſadors, who had been ſome time in London, concluded a truce with Henry for the ſpace of three years; and in the courſe of

of the same month, John le Bouteiller lor Maupertuis, envoy from Francis II. duke o Bretagne, prolonged, in his master's name the truce between England and that coun try, until the death of one of the tw princes; but it was agreed, that the treat of commerce between the two nations shoul continue to the death of the survivor.

On the twentieth day of September, th queen was, in the eighth month of her preg nancy, brought to bed of a son, who wa christened by the name of Arthur, in me mory of the illustrious British Arthur, fro whom the king pretended to derive his de scent.

The people imagined that the birth o this prince would inspire the king with real affection for the mother; but whe they found themselves disappointed in thei expectations: when they saw that he indus triously postponed her coronation; em braced every opportunity of humbling th partizans of the house of York, who were far more numerous than the adherents of th family of Lancaster; that his disposition wa base and ungenerous, and his temper sou and sullen; they began to regard him wit hatred and aversion, and even to think, tha in raising him to the throne, they had onl exchanged one tyrant for another.

His enemies did not fail to improve such favourable opportunity: they secretly whispered about that he designed to murder the earl of Warwick in the Tower; and they even insinuated that the duke of York had made his escape from the hands of his uncle, and was still alive on the Continent.

The universal joy discovered by the people at this report, encouraged Richard Simon, a priest of Oxford, to contrive a project, which was equally bold and romantic. He had a scholar named Lambert Simnel, the illegitimate son of a baker, a youth distinguished by the elegance of his person and the accomplishments of his mind; and him he determined to pass upon the world for Richard duke of York, the second son of the fourth Edward.

While he was employed in instructing his pupil, a report was spread, that Edward Plantagenet had escaped from the Tower; and Simon immediately altering his plan, resolved that Simnel should pass for this nobleman; a scheme still more romantic than the other, if we reflect, that the son of Clarence had been, after his father's death, honourably brought up in the court of his uncle Edward, until he was ten years of age; and, of consequence, that many people were well acquainted with his person.

Notwithstanding this objection, Simon continued to prepare his pupil for the part he was to act; and when he thought him properly qualified, he carried him over into Ireland, where he thought the imposture might be more easily concealed than in England. There he hoped the young man would meet with a friendly reception, as that kingdom adored the memory of Clarence, who had been their lord-lieutenant; and as Henry had not removed the public officers, who had been appointed by Richard.

The duke of Bedford, indeed, had been constituted governour of Ireland; but he still remained in England; and Thomas Fitz-gerald earl of Kildare acted as his deputy, and his brother enjoyed the office of chancellor in that kingdom. As they were both attached to the family of York, it was more than probable, that they had privately concerted this scheme with Simon, who was likewise supposed to have been instigated by the queen dowager, who was highly incensed at Henry's behaviour to her daughter.

The king had already heard, that some plot was forming against his government in Ireland, and had commanded the earl of Kildare to repair to his court at London; but that nobleman prevailed upon the Irish council

council to send a letter to Henry, representing the earl's presence as indispensably necessary in Ireland; in consequence of which remonstrance he was easily excused.

Simnel had no sooner reached Dublin, than he openly assumed the character of earl of Warwick, and in that quality applied to the earl of Kildare, to whom he gave a particular account of the manner in which he pretended to have escaped from the Tower; and though the deputy-governour and his brother did not immediately declare in his favour, their neglecting to seize such a bold pretender, plainly proved their connivance at the imposture.

They resolved, however, to conceal their sentiments until they should see how the people were affected; nor was it long before they were fully satisfied in that particular; the populace received Simnel with transports of joy, as the only son of their beloved Clarence, and solemnly promised to assist him at the hazard of their lives and fortunes.

Then the earl of Kildare, and his brother the chancellor, having consulted with their friends and adherents, repaired to the lodgings of Simnel, and conducted him thence with great pomp to the castle; where he was treated with all the respect and deference due to his assumed character, and be-

haved with such ease and dignity, as removed the suspicion of many people, who at first questioned the truth of his story. So strongly were the people prepossessed in his favour, that in a few days he was proclaimed king of England, and lord of Ireland, under the name of Edward VI. and not a single person in Ireland, except the citizens of Waterford, adhered to the interests of Henry.

An event, at once so sudden and important, could not fail to awaken the fears of the king, who saw himself attacked in his weakest part, namely his title, and in a country wholly devoted to the house of York: besides, he was afraid lest the flames which had been kindled in Ireland, should be extended to England, by means of some secret correspondence, which he had reason to think the malecontents in both kingdoms carried on.

Alarmed by these apprehensions, he convoked his privy-council, in order to concert the proper means of averting the threatened danger: and here, in all likelihood, he intimated his suspicion of his mother-in-law the queen dowager; for she was immediately committed to custody in the nunnery of Bermondsey in Southwark, and stripped of all her estate without any form of process.

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The whole nation was enraged at this act of severity, which he in vain endeavoured to excuse, by alledging that this punishment was inflicted upon her for having committed her daughter to the care of Richard: a pretence which served only to increase the indignation of the people, who thought it equally strange and cruel, that the queen should be treated with so much rigour for an action which might rather be deemed the effect of maternal weakness, than of premeditated malice.

Besides, they could not conceive the reason of Henry's having so long neglected to enquire into this affair; and they imagined his marrying the daughter was an acknowledgment of the mother's innocence, or, at least, a tacit forgiveness of her crime. They knew she had a principal share in raising him to the throne, and therefore they could not help exclaiming against his ingratitude; and, in this cruel proceeding, they discovered a settled design to embrace every opportunity of accomplishing the ruin of the house of York, and its adherents.

The queen dowager being committed to the nunnery of Bermondsey, Henry resolved to undeceive the populace, who began to be staggered in their opinion about the story of Simnel.

With this view, he caused the earl of Warwick to be led in solemn procession through the streets of London, from the Tower to St. Paul's Church, whither the people flocked in crowds to see him; and he was even allowed to talk familiarly with several individuals, who knew his person, and were warmly attached to his family. After this ceremony, he was sent back to the Tower; but the Irish retorted the charge of imposture upon Henry, asserting that the youth whom he had exhibited was a counterfeit; and that Simnel was the real earl of Warwick.

In order to prevent the spirit of rebellion from spreading into England, Henry issued a general pardon in favour of all those who should abandon the party of Simnel, with a promise of reward to such as should come and discover the nature of the plot. At the same time, he sent orders to the wardens of the sea-ports to guard the coasts with the utmost vigilance, so as to cut off all intercourse between the malecontents of the two kingdoms.

But, in spite of all these precautions, the pretender found means to secure some powerful friends in England; or rather, the priest who instructed Simnel, had been prompted by persons of the first quality to obtrude this impostor upon the world; for

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it is not likely that he would have ventured to engage in a project of this nature, without the promise of considerable assistance.

No sooner did he begin to avow his pretensions in Ireland, than John earl of Lincoln, whom his uncle Richard III. had acknowledged as presumptive heir to the crown, openly declared in his favour, and immediately repaired to Flanders, in order to concert with his aunt Margaret dutchess dowager of Burgundy, the proper means of carrying the scheme into execution.

That princess, being enraged at Henry's behaviour to her niece, and the rigour and severity with which he treated the house of York, readily embarked in Simnel's project, which, in all probability, had been contrived with her knowledge and consent; and after having consulted with Lincoln and Lovel, engaged to supply them with two thousand veteran German troops, commanded by Martin Swart, an officer of courage and experience, which should attend them into Ireland, and reinforce the new king's party.

They accordingly took shipping in the month of May,* and, after a quick and safe passage, arrived at Dublin, where Simnel was crowned with great pomp in the cathe-

* A. D. 1487.

cathedral by the bishops of Armagh, Dublin, Meath, and Derry, in the presence of the earl of Kildare, the chancellor, and all the other officers of state in that kingdom.

This ceremony being performed with a crown taken from a statue of the Virgin Mary, the new king convoked a kind of parliament, in which the clergy voted a subsidy to the pope, in hopes of engaging his holiness in their interest.

Then a council was held, to concert the means of prosecuting their scheme; and after some debates it was resolved that the seat of war should be placed in England, where they imagined they should be assisted by all the friends of the house of York, so as to be able to dethrone the usurper, without the least difficulty.

Mean while, Henry was employed in making preparations to screen himself from the impending danger. He no sooner heard of Lincoln's retreat into Flanders, than he at once concluded that the dutchess of Burgundy was engaged in the plot; and was the more alarmed as he knew the bold and daring genius of that princess, whose resentment he had incurred.

He immediately assembled two armies, the command of which he gave to the duke of Bedford and the earl of Oxford, in order to secure both sides of the island against a de-

descent; and during the winter he made a tour through the counties of Suffolk and Norfolk, where he had most reason to fear an invasion, on account of their neighbourhood to the Low-Countries.

When he reached St. Edmundsbury, he was informed that the marquis of Dorset was coming to visit him, that he might clear himself from some injurious reflexions that had been thrown on his character, and make a tender of his service to his majesty: but Henry, instead of accepting his offer, sent the earl of Oxford to meet and carry him prisoner to the Tower; though he was ordered to assure the marquis, that after the suppression of the present disturbance, he should be indulged with a fair hearing; and that his confinement would contribute to his own safety, as it would effectually hinder him from being seduced by evil counsellors.

Henry having provided for the defence of the Eastern coast, returned immediately to London, where he received intelligence that the earl of Lincoln, with his foreign auxiliaries, had landed in Ireland; so that being freed from all fear of an invasion from Flanders, he collected his troops in the neighbourhood of Coventry, which lies in the center of the kingdom, and repairing to that city in person, determined to wait

wait for more certain advice concerning the designs of the enemy.

He had not been long in this place, when he learned, that Simnel and his friends were arrived in Lancashire, and reinforced by Sir Thomas Broughton with a small body of English rebels. They had directed their march towards York, in hopes of seeing their numbers daily augmented, and they carefully abstained from all acts of hostility in their route, in order to prepossess the people in their favour. They were, however, greatly disappointed in their expectation.

The English, either fearing the prudence and good fortune of Henry, or disdaining to receive a king from the Irish and Germans, were so far from taking arms in his favour, that they discovered no marks of attachment to the cause; and the earl of Lincoln, apprehending that his army, amounting to eight thousand men, would rather diminish than increase, determined to engage the king before all his force should be collected.

With this view he altered his route, and advanced towards Newark, in hopes of getting possession of that place before the arrival of the enemy. Henry had proceeded as far as Nottingham, at the head of six thousand men; and being reinforced by an

equal

equal number, under the command of the earl of Shrewſbury, the lord Strange, and other perſons of diſtinction, he, by the advice of his council, reſolved to give battle to the rebels without delay.

The two hoſtile armies met in a ſmall plain near the village of Stoke, and attacked each other with incredible fury; but the numbers and diſcipline of the royaliſts ſoon decided the fortune of the day: the rebels, after a vigorous reſiſtance, were entirely defeated with the loſs of four thouſand men, among whom were the German commander Swart, and the earls of Lincoln and Kildare.

Lambert Simnel and his tutor were taken priſoners; and Henry, either from a motive of pity or a principle of pride, would not deprive his rival of life; but thought proper to honour with the office of turn-ſpit in his kitchen, the perſon who had boldly aſpired to a throne, and even wore a crown. Simon the prieſt was committed to priſon, and never heard of more.

The lord Lovel is by ſome ſuppoſed to have been drowned, in attempting to ford the Trent after the action: others alledge that he loſt his life in the battle: and a third ſet pretend that he paſſed the remainder of his days in a vault or cavern.

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This last opinion is strengthened by a discovery made about sixty years ago at this nobleman's seat at Minster-Lovel near Witney in Oxfordshire. The workmen in repairing the house, found, in a subterraneous room, the figure of a venerable old man, sitting in a great chair, resting one of his elbows on a table, and leaning his head on the palm of his hand; but when touched, the body fell into dust.*

This rebellion was no sooner suppressed, than the king repaired to Lincoln, from whence he proceeded to York; and in his way inflicted severe punishments on all those who had favoured the cause of Simnel, or were found guilty of having spread a report that the king's army was defeated; a report which had prevented some powerful barons from coming to Henry's assistance before the battle.

These delinquents were tried partly by commissioners, and partly by martial law; but he was pleased to spare their lives, and contented himself with seizing their estates and substance. When he had gratified his avarice by these fines and confiscations, he procured a bull from the pope, empowering the archbishop of Canterbury to absolve the criminals from the sentence of excommunication which they had incurred by violating

* *Carte.*

lating the former bull of settlement, as if he had been anxious for the salvation of those, who endeavoured to overturn his throne.

At the same time, Innocent VIII. sent over another bull, confining the privilege of sanctuaries within proper limits. He decreed, that malefactors, who had left the sanctuary to commit fresh crimes, and returned to it again for refuge, might be dragged from it by the king's officers: that, with regard to debtors, who took sanctuary in order to defraud their creditors, the privilege should extend to their persons only, and not to their estates: and that the king might place guards in the sanctuary to prevent the escape of traitors and rebels.

During Henry's residence at York, ambassadors arrived from Scotland, to accommodate some disputes concerning the fishery of the river Eske; and the king, who was heartily tired of his mother-in-law and her daughters, resolved to embrace such a favourable opportunity of ridding his hands of these troublesome guests, by procuring them husbands in another part of the island. With this view, he sent Fox bishop of Exeter, and Sir Richard Edgecomb, as his envoys to Edinburgh, to treat of a triple alliance with James king of Scotland.

After a short negociation, the treaty was concluded on the following terms: that the Scottish marquis of Ormond should marry Catherine the third daughter of Edward IV: that James himself should espouse Edward's widow: that his son the prince of Scotland should be matched with another daughter of that monarch: that the king of England should resign for ever to the Scots the town and castle of Berwick: that the articles and conditions of these three marriages should be adjusted by the commissioners of the two kings, to be assembled at Edinburgh, first in January, and then in May: that the two kings should have an interview in the month of July; and that the truce should be prolonged for fourteen months. Henry ratified these articles on the twentieth day of December; but the execution of the treaty was prevented by the civil dissensions of Scotland.

The king, in his progress through the North, had frequent opportunities to observe, that the discontent of the people was, in a great measure, owing to the rigour and severity with which he treated the friends of the house of York, and particularly to his having so long delayed the queen's coronation.

He therefore determined to remove this subject of complaint. About the beginning of November he repaired to London, which he

he entered in triumph, and next day went in proceſſion to St. Paul's, where Te Deum was ſung for the victory he had gained over the rebels.

He then conſtituted the duke of Bedford high-ſteward for the coronation of the queen, which was performed with the uſual ſolemnities, on the twenty-fifth day of November, in the twenty-firſt year of her age, and about two years after her marriage.

At the ſame time he releaſed the marquis of Dorſet without examination or trial; and, towards the end of the year, ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to the pope with advice of his marriage, and offers of ſervice and ſpiritual obedience.

Mean while, Henry's attention was diverted from the affairs of his own kingdom to thoſe of the Continent. Francis II. duke of Brittany, was now old and infirm, and, at certain times, deprived of his ſenſes: having no ſons, he, with the conſent of his eſtates, ſettled the ſucceſſion upon his two daughters, Anne and Iſabel, which laſt died before her father; ſo that Anne became ſole heireſs of Bretagne.

Charles VIII. propoſed to unite that dutchy with France by marrying this princeſs; but his ſcheme was traverſed by Lewis duke of Orleans, whom he had perſecuted, at the inſtigation of his ſiſter madam de

Beaujeau, and forced to take refuge in Brittany, where Francis not only received him with great hospitality, but even refused to deliver him up, or oblige him to quit his territories, notwithstanding the pressing importunities of Charles.

This refusal occasioned a war, in which the French, assisted by some lords of Brittany, reduced Ploermel, and had well nigh surprized the duke himself in Vannes, from whence he escaped with great difficulty to Nantz, the capital of his dutchy.

Thither he was closely pursued by the enemy, who invested the place; but, after they had lain before it for the space of six weeks, they were compelled to raise the siege by the count de Dunois, who found means to throw into the city a strong body of troops, which had been sent to the duke's assistance by Maximilian king of the Romans, who had some hopes of espousing the heiress.

Francis had, in his greatest distress, solicited succours from the king of England; but Henry was not of a temper to put himself to any expence which he could possibly avoid. He did not fail, however, to convert this circumstance to his own private advantage. He procured a large subsidy from parliament on pretence of assisting the duke of Burgundy; but this he had no

sooner

ooner obtained, than he depoſited the mo-
ey in his own coffers, and laid aſide all
arther concern about the affairs of his
lly.

Nevertheleſs, he affected to preſerve an
ppearance of friendſhip for Francis by of-
ering his good offices to compromiſe the
ifference between him and Charles; but
heſe fruitleſs negociations were productive
f no other effect, than that of affording
he French king an opportunity of proſecut-
ng his warlike operations, and reducing
he duke to the laſt extremity.

Whether it was owing to Henry's parſi-
monious diſpoſition, his fear of breaking
with the French monarch, or his natural
verſion to war, it was not without great
ifficulty, that, in the ſpring of the enſuing
ear,* he gave a ſecret permiſſion to Sir
Richard Wideville, the queen's uncle, and
overnour of the Iſle of Wight, to tranſport
body of four hundred men to the duke's
ſſiſtance; and he had even the meanneſs
o diſavow his knowledge of this tranſacti-
n, when Charles ſent deputies to remon-
trate againſt it.

Lewis de la Trémoille, one of the French
enerals, had lately invaded Brittany at the
ead of twelve thouſand men, with which

* A. D. 1488.

he had reduced Ancennis, Chateaubriant, Fougeres, and undertaken the siege of St. Aubin du Cormier. The Bretons advancing to the relief of this place, attacked the enemy with undaunted courage; but after an obstinate engagement, they were routed with great slaughter: the duke of Orleans and the prince of Orange, who fought on foot, were taken prisoners; and Sir Edward Wideville was slain with all his attendants.

This loss was followed by the surrender of St. Aubin: Dinan submitted without resistance; and St. Malo capitulated after a slight defence. The duke having no army to oppose the enemy, was obliged to accept of such terms as Charles was pleased to prescribe. These were; that he should dismiss all his foreign auxiliaries; and solemnly promise never to admit any into his country for the future: that the French should retain all the places they had in their possession: and that the duke should not dispose of his daughter in marriage without the consent of the French monarch.

Such were the principal articles of the treaty concluded at Sablé on the twenty-eighth day of August; but the duke's death, which happened soon after, and was occasioned by a fall from his horse, produced a

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new and a very different ſcene. Charles diſputed the right of the young dutcheſs to her father's territories; and claimed the dutchy as his own property, in virtue of an old ceſſion made by the houſe of Blois to ſome of his anceſtors, in conſequence of which he ordered his troops to ſeize all the places of ſtrength in the country.

Conquet, and moſt of the towns in the Lower Brittany, were ſoon reduced; and Breſt offered to capitulate to the viſcount de Rohan, who, with ſome other Breton lords, eſpouſed the intereſt, and facilitated the conqueſts of the French monarch.

In this emergency, the guardians of the young dutcheſs ſolicited ſuccours from all the neighbouring ſtates; and England was the country, which, of all others, was moſt likely to intereſt itſelf in her favour.

The union of Brittany with France was an event which the Engliſh had great reaſon to dread: it would deprive them of an ancient and uſeful ally: it would encreaſe the power of their moſt formidable enemy; it would raiſe the maritime force of France to ſuch an height, as, in the ſequel, might prove extremely dangerous; and it would add to the French dominions a country of large extent, abounding with brave ſoldiers and hardy ſeamen, and very conveniently

ſituated

situated either for distressing their trade, or keeping them in constant fear of an invasion.

Influenced by these and the like considerations, Henry determined, in good earnest, to oppose the designs of the French monarch, and support the dutchess of Brittany in the possession of her lawful rights.

With this view he dispatched ambassadors to the court of that princess, with whom he concluded a league offensive and defensive, importing, that the two contracting parties should mutually aid and assist each other, in protecting their respective dominions from all hostile attempts, or in recovering from France the lands and territories, which had formerly belonged to either of their families in that kingdom.

Henry engaged to supply the dutchess with a body of six thousand men, to be transported to the Continent on board of a fleet which she was to send for that purpose; and, as a security for the sums which he might happen to expend in this expedition, the towns of Hennebond and Guerrand were to be put into his hands. The treaty of commerce between the English and Bretons was again confirmed: both parties obliged themselves not to agree to any truce, peace, or confederacy, but by common consent; and Anne took an oath that she

he would neither marry, nor contract herself to any prince, without the approbation of the king of England.

As Henry was to advance all the money for the purpose of the expedition, he convoked a parliament on the thirteenth day of January;* and, laying before them an estimate of the charge, they voted him a subsidy of seventy-five thousand pounds; a sum which, they imagined, would be fully sufficient to defray all the expences of the enterprize. In order to raise this supply, they granted a tenth of the annual revenues of all honours, castles, manors, lands, and offices; together with a tax upon personal estates and moveables.

This imposition was levied with great ease in all the counties of England, except in Yorkshire and the bishopric of Durham, the inhabitants of which, being old friends of the house of York, bore an irreconcileable hatred to Henry, and absolutely refused to comply with the conditions of the tax, which they alledged was an intolerable grievance.

The commissioners, being thus repulsed, applied to the earl of Northumberland, who wrote to court for directions; and the king insisted peremtorily on their paying their pro-

* A. D. 1489.

proportion of the subsidy which had been voted by parliament; adding, that the affairs of Brittany were very pressing; and that, should he abandon his right on this occasion, other counties would be tempted to lay claim to the same indulgence.

The earl no sooner received this answer, than he convened the justices and freeholders of the county, and acquainted them with his majesty's pleasure, in such a haughty and imperious stile, as not only confirmed them in their former resolution of refusing payment, but likewise inflamed their resentment against the earl, whom they regarded as the person who had excited the king's anger, by a misrepresentation of circumstances.

Actuated by these motives, the populace instantly took to arms, and, rushing into his house, put him and several of his servants to death. This outrage was naturally followed by an insurrection, to which they were instigated by a popular incendiary, named John a Chamber; and, choosing for their leader Sir John Egremont, a factious partisan of the house of York, they openly declared they would march to London, and give battle to Henry.

The king was no sooner informed of this disturbance, than he sent a body of troops against the rebels, under the command of the

he earl of Surrey, whom he had lately set t liberty, and received into favour. That obleman, attacking the insurgents, defeat- d them at the first onset, and took John a Chamber prisoner; but Sir John Egremont nade his escape, and fled for refuge to the ourt of the dutchess dowager of Bur- undy.

Henry, who followed the earl of Surrey with another body of troops, continued his rogress to the city of York, where he aused John a Chamber to be hanged with great number of his accomplices, and in- ulged the rest of the rebels with a free ardon. He then appointed the earl of urrey his lieutenant in the northern parts, nd nominated Sir Richard Tunstall as his rincipal commissioner for levying the sub- dy, which was afterwards exacted to the tmost farthing.

Mean while, lord Willoughby of Brook ad been sent into Brittany, with a body of ix thousand men; and, landing at Guer- and in the month of March, had been rea- ily received into that place, but refused dmittance into Hennebonde; and this, in ll probability, was the reason why the dut- hess afterwards agreed to put the English n possession of Morlaix.

The arrival of these succours produced n entire change in the affairs of Brittany.

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The French, distributed in garrisons through the great towns of the country, over-ran the the neighbourhood without opposition: the dutchess had neither forces to check their excursions, nor money to levy and maintain an army: the English were too weak to undertake the siege of large and populous cities: the noblemen of Brittany refused to admit them into their castles; and the French, afraid to hazard a general engagement, kept themselves within their places of strength, and seized every opportunity of sallying forth, and surprizing the detached parties of the enemy.

In these slight and trivial skirmishes, the summer was spent without any action of importance; and the English, seeing nothing but discord and dissension in the court of Brittany, returned to their own country in the month of November, the term of their service being then fully expired.

The late duke of Bretagne had left the guardianship of his daughter, to the mareschal de Rieux, and the counts of Cominges and Dunois; and committed the particular care of her person to Philip de Montauban, in quality of chancellor, who, with the prince of Orange, who was cousin to the young dutchess, composed the ruling part of the council, and engrossed the direction of public affairs.

These noblemen were greatly divided in their sentiments, about the disposal of their young ward in marriage. Her father had, a little before his death, promised her to Maximilian, king of the Romans; and the treaty had been privately managed by the prince of Orange, without the knowledge of any other member of the council.

The mareschal de Rieux was bent upon giving her to Alain lord of Albert, according to a promise he had received in her father's life-time. The chancellor Montauban, and the count de Cominges, were rather inclined to oppose that nobleman, than to espouse the cause of any other suitor; and Francis, count de Dunois, exerted his utmost efforts, in order to procure the young princess for the duke of Orleans.

While these noblemen were employed in prosecuting their different schemes, a treaty was concluded at Francfort, between Maximilian and the king of France; in which it was stipulated, that, upon the English being dismissed from Brittany, the French monarch should sequester St. Malo, and the other places he possessed in that province, in the hands of the prince of Orange and the duke of Bourbon, until the right of succession to the dutchy should be judicially determined.

This treaty was soon followed by another, between Maximilian and the dutchess of Bretagne, and their marriage being fully concluded, was at length solemnized in the month of November, the count of Nassau, who acted as proxy for Maximilian, putting his naked leg in bed with the dutchess, as a proof of consummation.

The treaty between Maximilian and Charles, was executed with great punctuality, in such articles as particularly concerned themselves; but in those relating to Bretagne, the French started difficulties, and refused to resign the places they possessed, because the province was not entirely cleared of English forces.*

In vain did the dutchess alledge, that there were no English troops remaining, except a few companies in garrisons, which she would take care to dismiss as soon as the French should have evacuated the places they held, and she could not do it sooner with any regard to her own safety.

This dispute gave occasion to a renewal of hostilities; and the lord of Albert, enraged at the marriage of the dutchess with Maximilian, surprized her capital of Nantz, and delivered it into the hands of the enemy. The young princess complained loudly

* A. D. 1490.

loudly of this violation of the treaty, as well to the kings of England and Caſtile, as to her huſband Maximilian, whoſe titles ſhe now aſſumed, diſtinguiſhing herſelf by the ſtile of queen of the Romans.

As theſe three potentates were equally concerned to defeat the views of the French monarch, they preſently entered into a formal league, by which they engaged to aid and aſſiſt each other, in recovering thoſe territories of which the kings of France had formerly deprived their anceſtors; and in defending the poſſeſſions of the dutcheſs of Brittany, againſt all the attempts of her enemies.

Charles was no ſooner informed of this agreement, than he at once perceived that he ſhould never be able, by force of arms, to accompliſh his deſigns upon the dutchy of Brittany. He therefore determined to have recourſe to the only expedient that could enſure ſucceſs, namely, that of eſpouſing the dutcheſs.*

But even this ſcheme was attended with ſome difficulties, which, to a prince of a leſs enterprizing genius, would have appeared altogether inſurmountable: he himſelf was under a ſolemn engagement, by the treaty of Arras, to marry Margaret of Auſtria,

* A. D. 1491.

ſtria, Maximilian's daughter, who had reſided, for the laſt ſeven years, at the French court, in quality of his future ſpouſe, and only waited till ſhe ſhould be of a proper age to have her nuptials completed. The dutcheſs of Brittany, for obvious reaſons, had an unconquerable averſion to his perſon and family; and, what was the greateſt obſtacle, ſhe was already married to the king of the Romans. But all theſe impediments were but weak barriers to check the ambitious career of the French monarch.

Had Maximilian, indeed, been ſo prudent as to conſummate his marriage with the dutcheſs, it would have been impoſſible for Charles to diſſolve the ſacred union; but as he had neglected to take this neceſſary precaution, the other reſolved to avail himſelf of ſuch an impolitic omiſſion.

True it is, that when Charles agreed to marry the daughter of Maximilian, he had ſome reaſon to hope that ſhe would ſoon ſucceed to the poſſeſſion of all the Low Countries, as there was no perſon between her and the inheritance, except her own brother Philip, a child only in his third year, and of a very weak and tender conſtitution; but that child had now attained to the years of diſcretion, and was almoſt ripe for matrimony; and the dutchy of Bretagne would be irretrievably loſt, ſhould Maxi-

Maximilian have time to complete his nuptials.

He therefore determined to prevent such a fatal conſequence, by eſpouſing the heireſs without delay. For this purpoſe, he deſired the prince of Orange, and the count de Dunois, to exert all their power and influence in perſuading the noblemen of Brittany to eſpouſe his cauſe; and, if poſſible, to obtain the conſent of the dutcheſs herſelf. They eaſily ſucceeded in the firſt part of their commiſſion: the chancellor Montauban, and the mareſchal de Rieux, embarked in the ſcheme without heſitation; but, when they came to open the matter to the young princeſs, ſhe rejected the propoſal with the utmoſt diſdain.

Her averſion to Charles, and her affection for Maximilian; the frequent attempts which the former had made to deprive her of her inheritance, and the conſtant regard which the latter had expreſſed for her intereſt; the contract of the French monarch with Margaret of Auſtria; her hereditary hatred to the French nation; her treaties with the kings of England and Caſtile; the ſuccours ſhe had received from Henry; and eſpecially her marriage with Maximilian; theſe, and many other circumſtances, concurred to render her averſe to a match with Charles,

and to make her adhere to her former engagements.

In vain was she assailed with a variety of arguments, deduced from reasons of state, the good of her people, the honour of being queen of France, the inability of a vassal to marry without the consent of the lord paramount, and the frequent dissolutions of unconsummated nuptials; she still lent a deaf ear to all these remonstrances; and the count de Dunois, finding her inflexible, sent word to the king of France, that, if he meant to accomplish his purpose, he must enter Bretagne immediately with a numerous army, and force her to a compliance, before the arrival of the English succours.

Charles followed his advice without delay; and, advancing to Rennes, where the dutchess resided, invested that place with a strong body of forces. The young princess having no hopes of relief, and finding that all her courtiers were engaged in the interest of her enemy, was at last obliged to submit: the articles of contract were forthwith adjusted; she was presently carried to Langey in Touraine, where, on the sixteenth day of December, she was married to Charles; and, soon after, crowned at St. Denis.

Henry

Henry had, for ſome time, been endeavouring to compromiſe all differences between the king of France, the dutcheſs of Brittany, and the king of the Romans; and Charles had taken care to amuſe him him with ſpecious promiſes and profeſſions, until he found means to accompliſh his purpoſe.

The Engliſh ambaſſadors, at the French court, were no ſooner informed of the late tranſaction, than they tranſmitted an account of it to their maſter, who was greatly incenſed at finding himſelf ſo groſsly deceived, and in ſuch danger of loſing the money he had laid out in the defence of Bretagne.

Nevertheleſs, he had ſtill one advantage over Charles, of which he did not fail to make a proper uſe. That prince had formed a deſign of ſubduing Naples; and, as a war with England would have retarded, and perhaps defeated, the execution of his ſcheme, he ſought to avoid it with the utmoſt care and circumſpection.

Henry, being fully informed of all his views, pretended to be highly enraged at the inſult he had received, and threatened to take ſevere vengeance on the author. His ambaſſadors had no ſooner made their report, than he iſſued orders for raiſing forces

forces and equipping transports, and publickly declared that he would carry the war into the heart of France.

Maximilian breathed nothing but revenge when he heard that he was robbed of his wife in such a cruel and outrageous manner, and peremtorily insisted that his daughter Margaret, who had been affianced to Charles, and had resided for some time at Paris, should be sent back to his own court. Henry seemed to be fully determined to enter into a war with France; and, in order to guard his kingdom against all danger on the northern borders, he concluded a truce with the ambassadors of James IV. of Scotland.

In the beginning of the year,* he convoked a parliament, to which he signified his intention of re-conquering the kingdom of France, as the inheritance of his ancestors. He reminded the members of the victories obtained at Crecy, Poitiers, and Agincourt, by a handful of English, over the most formidable armies of France; represented the powerful aid and assistance he should receive from his allies, in his attempts upon that kingdom; and asked a supply proportioned to the greatness of the enterprize, exhorting the commons to spare the

* A. D. 1492.

the purſes of the poor, and lay the burden of the tax upon the wealthy.

Though the commons were far from being ſatisfied with the application of the laſt ſubſidy, the conqueſt of France was a temptation which they could not withſtand. They not only approved of his reſolution, which in fact he had no mind to execute, but they ſupplied him with great chearfulneſs and alacrity; and, according to his requeſt, impowered him to levy a large ſubſidy, by way of benevolence,* upon the wealthy part of his ſubjects.

After the diſſolution of the parliament, Henry received an embaſſy from the king of France, with certain propoſals, the nature of which was never publickly known; though, in all likelihood, theſe ambaſſadors adjuſted the preliminaries of that peace, which was concluded before the end of the year. In the month of June, the queen was brought to bed of a ſon, named Henry, who ſucceeded his father on the Engliſh throne.

Not-

* Biſhop Morton, the chancellor, is ſaid to have adviſed the commiſſioners to make uſe of this dilemma to the ſubjects, viz. that if they lived ſparingly, they could not fail to have ſaved money; and if profuſely, that very circumſtance was a proof of their wealth and riches; by which means none were exempted from the impoſition. This dilemma was commonly called the biſhop's fork, or crutch. *Bacon.*

Notwithstanding the high and lofty strain in which Henry had talked to his parliament, it soon appeared that he had no intention to push the war with vigour; for he presently began to relax in his preparations; and even sent envoys to the French court, to accommodate the difference in an amicable manner.

He pretended, however, that this step was entirely owing to his pacific disposition; for, in order to shew his determined resolution to obtain an honourable and advantageous peace, he dispatched ambassadors, at the same time, to summon Maximilian and Ferdinand of Spain, to invade France according to treaty.

But he well knew that they had neither the power, nor the inclination, to perform their engagements. Maximilian was equally destitute of troops and of money; and Ferdinand had begun to negociate a separate peace with Charles.

In the beginning of August, Henry gave fresh orders for raising another body of forces; and, in the course of the same month, he sent commissioners to Coldstream, to confer with the Scottish deputies, and adjust the articles of a solid peace between the two nations.

At length, committing the guardianship of the kingdom to his son prince Arthur, he

he repaired to Sandwich about the beginning of October, and immediately embarked his army. Before he set sail, he received a letter from the mareschal Desquerdes, proposing that a negociation for peace should be begun in England; but the king thought it more consistent with his honour, to negociate in the enemy's country.

He had hardly landed at Calais, when his envoys returned from Maximilian, with an account of that prince's inability to execute the articles of the treaty; and, in a few days after their arrival, he received letters from his ambassadors in Spain, acquainting him that Ferdinand had compromised all his differences with Charles.

He pretended to be greatly surprized at this intelligence, which he took care to communicate to his whole army, in order to convince them that he should be under an absolute necessity of agreeing to that peace which he really meant to conclude.

He now allowed, though with seeming reluctance, the bishop of Bath and Wells to begin a conference with the mareschal Desquerdes at Estaples; and he himself advanced towards Boulogne, which he invested on the nineteenth day of October.

King Charles was then at Tours; and though he was fully apprized of Henry's preparations

parations, he had not ſo much as collected an army to check his progreſs: a plain proof that the whole affair was concerted between the two ſovereigns; and that the ſiege of Boulogne was no other than a artifice to diſhearten the Engliſh troops, by the difficulties of a winter campaign, and render them more inclinable to an immediate pacification.

On the twenty ſeventh day of October, Henry received the articles which had been adjuſted between the commiſſioners of the two kingdoms: theſe were; that the king of France ſhould diſcharge the debt contracted by his queen for the defence of Bretagne, amounting to ſix hundred and twenty thouſand crowns, which is equivalent to one hundred and twenty-four thouſand pounds ſterling: that he ſhould likewiſe pay to Henry the arrears of the penſion which his father had granted to Edward IV. amounting to one hundred and twenty-five thouſand crowns: that as in the obligation given by the dutcheſs of Brittany to the king of England, there was no ſum ſpecified, Henry ſhould produce vouchers of his accounts to the commiſſioners of France or Bretagne to be ſent into England for that purpoſe: that the two kings ſhould name ſuch of their allies as they wanted to include in this treaty; and that theſe allies ſhould declare,

in

in four months, whether they would or would not be included: that, ſhould the king of the Romans and his ſon deſire to be comprehended, and afterwards the king of France preſume to attack their dominions on any pretext whatſoever, the king of England ſhould be at full liberty to aid and aſſiſt them; but ſhould they, on the contrary, invade the kingdom of France, he ſhould not afford them any aſſiſtance: that ſhould the two kings approve theſe articles, they ſhould give hoſtages to each other, until the treaty ſhould be ſigned and ratified.

Though theſe articles were extremely acceptable to Henry, and were probably drawn by his own conſent, he yet pretended to heſitate and raiſe objections; and at length ſubmitted them to the conſideration of a general council of all the noblemen and principal officers in his army. As theſe were entirely guided by ſome of his own creatures, they unanimouſly agreed, that the terms ought to be accepted.

The king affecting to follow the advice of his council, confirmed the treaty on the third day of November: on the ſixth of the ſame month it was ſigned by Charles; and both ſovereigns engaged that, within the ſpace of three years, it ſhould be ratified by the eſtates of their reſpective kingdoms.

From the nature of this treaty it plainly appears, that the war was begun merely with a view to obtain payment of the money expended in the defence of Bretagne, and procure a revival of the penſion; for in the articles there is no mention of Henry's title to Normandy, Guienne, and the crown of France, which was his pretence for engaging in the war. It was agreed, that the treaty ſhould continue in force till the death of both kings; and that the ſucceſſor of him who ſhould die firſt, ſhould confirm the peace within a year after his acceſſion to the throne.

This treaty, as might naturally be imagined, gave great offence to the people of England, who not only accuſed Henry of the moſt ſhameful miſconduct, in ſuffering Brittany to be united to the crown of France; but likewiſe taxed him with avarice and extortion in fleecing his ſubjects for the ſupport of a war undertaken merely with a view to fill his own coffers.

The nobility and officers, who had ſold or mortgaged their eſtates, in hopes of reimburſing themſelves by the ſpoils of France, ſcrupled not to exclaim, that the king had plucked his people to feather himſelf.

Theſe complaints, however, gave the leſs uneaſineſs to Henry, as he now received from Charles the ſum of ſeven hundred and forty-

forty-five thouſand crowns, as the whole money he had expended in the defence of Bretagne, and the arrears of the penſion, together with the promiſe of fifty thouſand crowns yearly, which were regularly paid in the ſequel. He inſtantly raiſed the ſiege of Boulogne, and returned to Calais, from whence he ſet ſail for England, and arrived in London on the ſeventeenth day of December.

He was now become extremely unpopular among the Engliſh, who aſcribed the loſs of Brittany to his avarice and miſconduct. They taxed him with having decoyed the commons into a grant of exorbitant ſubſidies on falſe pretences; with exacting immenſe ſums illegally, under the term of a Benevolence; with having agreed to a diſhonourable and diſadvantageous peace with the king of France; with behaving to his queen, rather with the rigour of tyrant, than the tenderneſs of an huſband; and with embracing every opportunity of humbling the friends and adherents of the houſe of York.*

Henry was no ſtranger to the diſcontents of the people, and plainly foreſaw the ſtorm that was ready to fall upon his head. A new pretender to his throne, more danger-

* A. D. 1493.

ous than Lambert Simnel, had appeared on the Continent, and assumed the name of Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, second son of Edward IV. supposed to have made his escape from the Tower, after the murder of his elder brother.

He was a youth of a very elegant figure and polite address, and is said to have been the son of one Osbeck, a converted Jew of Tournay, from whence he repaired to London, where the pretender was born and baptized by the name of Peter: king Edward, having a regard for Osbeck and his wife, stood godfather to the child; who, from the delicacy of his person, obtained the diminutive appellation of Peterkin or Perkin.

Edward himself was suspected of having an intrigue with his mother; and from his resemblance to that prince, he was judged a proper person to represent the duke of York.

After having lived some years in England, he was removed by his parents to Flanders, where by keeping company with English gentlemen, he easily retained his native language; and as he grew up, he discovered such accomplishments both of body and mind as recommended him to the notice of the dutchess dowager of Burgundy, who deter-

determined to produce him as a pretender to the Engliſh throne.

With this view ſhe inſtructed him in private, until he was perfectly qualified for the part he was to act. He was informed of all the particulars relating to Richard duke of York, whom he was meant to repreſent, as well of the ſize and features of his pretended father, mother, brothers, ſiſters, and relations; and, in a word, of all the tranſactions of Edward's court, which a child of eleven years of age might be ſuppoſed capable to recollect.

When he was fully tutored, the dutcheſs determined, that he ſhould avow his pretenſions to the Engliſh crown; but, in the mean time, that her ſecret deſign might not be too early diſcovered, ſhe ſent him to Portugal with the lady Brampton: there he remained a whole year, until Henry engaged in a war with France: then ſhe commanded him by letters to repair to Ireland, which was warmly attached to the houſe of York.

He immediately obeyed her injunctions, and arriving at Cork, aſſumed the name and character of Richard Plantagenet, ſecond ſon of the fourth Edward. His cauſe being inſtantly eſpouſed by a great number of perſons, he wrote to the earls of Deſmond and Kildare, requiring them to own

his title, and repair to his ſtandard with all their dependants.

Charles VIII. was no ſooner apprized of his appearance in Ireland, than he diſpatched Stephen Tryon, who had formerly been in Henry's ſervice, and one Lucas, as his ambaſſadors to Perkin, inviting him to come to his court, and promiſing to aſſiſt him with all his might in recovering the inheritance of his anceſtors.

On his arrival in France, he met with a moſt gracious reception: he was owned as duke of York, and treated with all the reſpect and deference due to his aſſumed character, till the peace of Eſtaples, when Henry in vain endeavoured to prevail upon Charles to deliver up this pretender.

The French king would not be guilty of ſuch a flagrant breach of the laws of hoſpitality, though he engaged that he would afford him no aſſiſtance in his attempts upon the Engliſh crown.

Perkin, being thus deprived of all hopes of ſuccour from France, retired into Flanders, and was introduced as a perfect ſtranger to the dutcheſs dowager. Margaret pretended to queſtion his veracity, and examined him in public concerning the truth of his pretenſions; when he gave ſuch ſenſible and pertinent anſwers, and demeaned himſelf with ſo much dignity and decorum,

that ſhe and all her courtiers appeared to be fully ſatisfied of his being the real duke of York.

She immediately owned him as her nephew, aſſigned him a guard of thirty halberdiers for his perſon, and gave him the title of the White Roſe of England, the badge by which, in the courſe of the civil wars, the houſe of York was diſtinguiſhed, as the family of Lancaſter was by that of the Red.

At this time the people of England were extremely well diſpoſed to adopt the impoſture, partly from their averſion to the king, but chiefly from a conviction that Perkin was the real Richard Plantagenet. Sir William Stanley, lord chamberlain of the houſhold, John Radcliffe, lord Fitzwalter, Sir Simon Montfort, Sir Thomas Thwaites, and others, entered into a ſecret confederacy to eſpouſe the cauſe of this youth, and deputed Sir Robert Clifford and William Barley of Aldeburgh in Hertfordſhire, to go to the court of the dutcheſs of Burgundy, to concert with that princeſs the means of carrying the ſcheme into execution.

After Sir Robert had been ſome time at the court of Margaret, and converſed familiarly with Perkin, he ſent a letter to his aſſociates in England, aſſuring them that he knew

knew the perſon of the duke of York as well as he knew his own; and that this youth was certainly the true Richard Plantagenet.

A plot of ſuch an extenſive, and complicated nature could not long eſcape the penetrating eye of Henry. He had already received a confuſed account of the conſpiracy, and diſpatched ſome ſpies to the Continent, to inſinuate themſelves into the company and confidence of Perkin and his protectreſs, that they might diſcover the particulars of the pretender's birth and education, as well as the names of thoſe who eſpouſed his cauſe in England.

That theſe emiſſaries might gain the greater credit among the friends of Perkin, he ordered them to be excommunicated at St. Paul's, by name, in the bead-roll of the king's enemies, according to the cuſtom of the times; and he bribed the chaplains and confeſſors of the nobility, to betray the ſecret deſigns of their maſters. While he thus exerted his endeavours, in order to defeat the conſpiracy, he was no leſs induſtrious in diſcovering, and publiſhing proofs of the real duke of York's having been ſmothered in the Tower. Sir James Tyrrel, who had been Henry's plenipotentiary at the treaty of Eſtaples, and Dighton his ſervant, ſuppoſed to have been the perpetrator

of

of the horrid deed, were examined, and acknowledged the fact, as it has been narrated in the courſe of this hiſtory; but their account was ſo perplexed and involved, that it left the matter in its former ſtate of doubt and uncertainty, and Henry made no uſe of it in any of his declarations. Dighton, however, was releaſed from priſon, and gained his pardon by publiſhing this ſtory; which, in all probability, was contrived for the purpoſe.

All the information that Henry received from his ſpies abroad, amounted to no more than the account we have already given; and therefore it did not produce the effect he expected, which was to prove the falſity of Perkin's pretenſions: on the contrary, as it was ſo partial and imperfect, it rather tended to ſtrengthen the notion which many people had conceived, that Perkin was the real duke of York.

This opinion was ſtill further confirmed by the conduct of Henry, which, on this occaſion, was altogether myſterious and unaccountable; for the intelligence he had obtained, concerning the life and adventures of Perkin Warbeck, was not publiſhed by proclamation, but only divulged in vague and incoherent reports, by his courtiers and dependants.

With

With regard to the murder of the real duke of York, Henry's ambaſſador at the court of the archduke of Auſtria, when required to ſhew the evidence, replied, that his maſter did not chuſe to make uſe of that kind of proof, becauſe it might be ſuſpected that he had ſuborned the witneſſes.

Theſe circumſtances, joined to the uncommon jealouſy he entertained of the pretender, the great pains he took, and the immenſe ſums he expended, in defeating the deſigns of Perkin, induced many people to believe that the youth was not a counterfeit.

Whatever be in this, Henry had the addreſs to gain over Sir Robert Clifford to his intereſt. He diſpatched Sir Edward Poynings, and William Wareham, as ambaſſadors to the archduke, to remonſtrate againſt the conduct of Margaret, who was the author of this impoſture; and inſiſted that Perkin ſhould be ſurrendered into his hands, as a robber or common enemy of mankind, who ought not to enjoy the benefit of the law of nations.

The council of the archduke having conſidered this demand, replied, that Philip had ſuch a regard for Henry's intereſt, that he would afford no aſſiſtance to the pretender; but that the dutcheſs being abſolute in

in the lands allotted for her dowry, he had no right to controul her conduct.

Philip was the more regardleſs of Henry's diſpleaſure, as he had juſt compromiſed his difference with Charles of France, who had delivered up his ſiſter Margaret, with the counties of Artois and Burgundy; though he ſtill retained ſome places, which he promiſed to reſign when Philip ſhould be of age.

The ambaſſadors, in relating the archduke's anſwer, acquainted the king, that there was a colluſion between that prince and the dutcheſs dowager, in the affair of Perkin; and Henry was ſo provoked at Philip's diſſimulation, that he not only broke off all correſpondence with him, but alſo baniſhed his ſubjects from the kingdom of England. The archduke revenged this affront, by expelling all the Engliſh who reſided in Flanders; but the animoſity of theſe two princes, was puſhed to no greater extremities, becauſe they were mutually afraid of each other.

Mean while, Henry received, from Sir Robert Clifford, a particular liſt of all the perſons with whom the dutcheſs and Perkin correſponded in England. Reſolving to ſuppreſs the conſpiracy before it ſhould become too dangerous, he gave orders for apprehending John Ratcliff lord Fitzwalter, Sir Simon

Simon Montfort, Sir Thomas Fitzwalter, William d'Aubigney, Robert Ratcliff, Thomas Creſſener, and Thomas Aſhwood, who were ſeized at the ſame time, tried, found guilty of holding a treaſonable correſpondence with Perkin, and ſentenced to ſuffer the death of traitors.

The lord Fitzwalter was removed to Calais, where, in time, he might have procured a pardon; but his impatience of confinement having prompted him to attempt an eſcape, he was diſcovered and beheaded. Montfort, Ratcliff, and d'Aubigney, were executed immediately after condemnation, but the reſt were pardoned; and many others of the clergy, as well as laity, who had been arreſted on the ſame ſuſpicion, were diſmiſſed without trial.

The lord chamberlain Stanley was not yet committed to cuſtody, either becauſe Sir Robert Clifford had not lodged any accuſation againſt him, or the king had not ſufficient proof to convict him of high-treaſon.

The conſpiracy being thus extinguiſhed in England, Henry began to turn his attention to the affairs of Ireland, where he heard that Perkin had ſtill ſome powerful friends and adherents.* He conſtituted his ſecond ſon Henry, an infant of two years of age, lord lieute-

* A. D. 1494.

lieutenant of that kingdom, and appointed Sir Edward Poynings his deputy, whom he veſted with a very extenſive power over the civil as well as the military adminiſtration.

This gentleman had no ſooner arrived in Ireland, than he began a ſevere ſcrutiny into the conduct of thoſe who were ſuſpected of diſaffection; and in a particular manner, attacked the earls of Deſmond and Kildare, to whom Perkin had addreſſed himſelf, when he firſt landed at Cork.

The firſt retired to his eſtate, and ſet the deputy at defiance; but the other was ſent priſoner to England, from whence he was ſoon diſmiſſed to his own country with marks of the king's regard and confidence, Henry thinking that, at ſuch a perilous juncture, acts of lenity and mercy would redound more to his intereſt than the exerciſe of rigour and ſeverity.

In theſe ſentiments, he immediately diſpatched a commiſſioner to Ireland, with a free pardon in favour of the earl of Deſmond and all the rebels of that country, hoping, by theſe gentle proceedings, to extinguiſh the very ſeeds of rebellion in an iſland, which was ſo ſtrongly attached to the family of York.

During the deputy's reſidence in Ireland, he convoked a parliament, which is famous

on record for the ſtatutes it enacted to the advantage of England, and the Engliſh ſettled in Ireland. One of theſe, ſtill diſtinguiſhed by the name of Poyning's Act, ordained, that the parliament of Ireland could not be convened, until the governour and council ſhould have acquainted his majeſty with the cauſes of its meeting, and obtained the royal licence under the great ſeal. Another law decreed, that the ſtatutes of England ſhould be obſerved in Ireland; and theſe two acts remain in force to this day.

But though Henry's attention might be engroſſed for a time by the care of ſecuring his crown, or by any other concern, his mind was no ſooner allowed to purſue its natural bent, than he returned to the gratification of his ruling paſſion, which was an unbounded love of money. He trumped up the moſt falſe and frivolous accuſations againſt people of wealth and ſubſtance, that by the fines extorted from them he might fill his own coffers.

This was entirely owing to his greedy and covetous diſpoſition, for he had not the leaſt occaſion for the money he thus exacted. He was at peace with all the neighbouring princes. He had procured from parliament two very conſiderable ſubſidies, of which he had not expended a fourth part, and even that was repaid him with intereſt.

He

He had enriched himself with several confiscations, and received from the king of France an annual pension of fifty thousand livres.

These sums, joined to his ordinary revenues, rendered him the wealthiest king in Europe; yet, not satisfied with his immense riches, he could not refrain from draining the purses of his subjects by forfeitures on penal laws.

The first person whom he attacked in this manner was Sir William Capel alderman of London, who was fined in the sum of seven and twenty hundred pounds, sixteen hundred of which he was obliged to pay to the king by way of composition: but of all the oppressive acts of Henry, that which stained his memory with the most indelible mark of infamy, was his prosecution of the lord chamberlain Stanley, to whom, in a great measure, he was indebted for his crown.

We have already remarked that this nobleman wished well to the cause of Perkin Warbeck, on the supposition that he was the true son of Edward IV. and perhaps he was incensed at the ingratitude of Henry, from whom he is said to have received a refusal, when he asked the earldom of Chester.

The king had, certainly, reaſon to dread the reſentment of ſuch a powerful ſubject; but, in all probability, his greateſt crime was his great eſtate, which was larger than that of any other nobleman in the kingdom, and prompted Henry to effect his ruin; for the charge againſt him was conſtrued into high treaſon, by a very forced and unnatural interpretation.

In order to attain his end, he ordered his informer, Clifford, to repair to England; and no ſooner learned he was arrived in the kingdom, than he took up his reſidence in the Tower, that he might ſeize the delinquent with the greater eaſe. Clifford, according to his private inſtructions, appeared before the council; and, falling on his knees, implored the king's mercy, which he ſaid he would merit by diſcovering all he knew of the plot.

Having obtained a pardon on that condition, he began to impeach ſeveral perſons, and, among the reſt, the lord chamberlain. The king pretended to be greatly ſurprized at this accuſation, deſiring him to take heed to what he ſaid; and menacing him with inſtant death, ſhould the charge be found to be falſe and groundleſs.

Clifford adhering to his former declaration, the lord Chamberlain was immediately apprehended: next day, being examined before

before the council, he acknowledged the particulars of which he was accuſed, and was therefore condemned on his own confeſſion; though his whole crime amounted to no more than that he had ſaid, that, were he ſure that Perkin Warbeck was the real ſon of the fourth Edward, he would never bear arms againſt him.

He probably imagined that the important ſervices he had performed to the king, by raiſing him to the throne, and the great intereſt of his brother, the earl of Derby, who had eſpouſed Henry's mother, would be ſufficient to protect him; but he was fatally diſappointed in his expectation: the only favour he could procure, was only a reſpite of a few weeks, that he might prepare for death, which he did not ſuffer till the ſixteenth day of February in the next year; when his poſt of chamberlain was beſtowed upon Giles lord d'Aubigney, a nobleman of great valour and capacity.

Beſides an eſtate of three thouſand pounds a year, which fell to the king by the forfeiture of Stanley, he likewiſe found, in his caſtle of Holt, forty thouſand marks in money and plate, together with jewels, furniture, and effects, to an immenſe value. With this plunder he conſoled himſelf for the ſecret curſes and imprecations of his people, who not only condemned his avarice and

ingratitude, but likewiſe trembled for their own perſonal ſafety, as the chamberlain had ſuffered for a crime of which very few Engliſh ſubjects were innocent; namely, for preferring the title of the houſe of York, to that of the family of Lancaſter.

Their fears were ſtill further encreaſed, when they learned that Henry had employed ſpies to watch the conduct of the chamberlain; and probably purſued the ſame method with other noblemen, who durſt no longer expreſs their ſentiments, leſt thoſe, whom they conſidered as friends, ſhould become informers, and betray their confidence.

But their reſentment being checked in one channel, did not fail to break forth with greater fury and violence in another: the kingdom was inſtantly filled with a vaſt number of ſevere libels and ſatires againſt the judges, the council, and the king himſelf; who was ſo incenſed at theſe invectives, that he ordered five mean perſons, convicted of having diſperſed the papers, to be executed as traitors.

In the ſummer of the following year,* Henry made a progreſs into the northern counties; and, in his way, paid a viſit to his mother and her huſband, the earl of Derby, at their houſe of Latham; where he con-

* A. D. 1495.

continued for ſeveral days, in order to convince the world, that the proceedings againſt the lord chamberlain Stanley had not, in the leaſt, diminiſhed his regard for that nobleman's brother.

Perkin Warbeck had long waited for a favourable opportunity of making a deſcent in England; and ſuch, he imagined, the king's abſence from the ſouthern part of the iſland now afforded.

Accordingly, being furniſhed with ſome troops and veſſels by the dutcheſs of Burgundy, he embarked in the month of July, and, arriving on the coaſt of Kent, near Sandwich, ſent ſome of his people aſhore, to ſound the inclinations of the natives. Theſe endeavoured to perſuade the Kentiſhmen, that a large armament had been equipped by the dutcheſs of Burgundy for aſſerting the title of the duke of York, and the few ſhips in ſight were but a ſmall part of the fleet that would ſoon appear; but the Engliſh perceiving they were all foreigners and freebooters, inſtead of joining them, conſulted with the gentlemen of the county, who adviſed them to decoy Perkin aſhore with fair promiſes, and then commit him to cloſe cuſtody.

In compliance with this advice, they took to their arms, and marching down to the ſea ſide, invited the pretender to land, aſ-

ſuring

ſuring him, at the ſame time, that they would hazard their lives and fortunes in his ſervice. This invitation he would probably have accepted, had it not been for the remonſtrances of his ſecretary Frion, who obſerved, that from delaying this declaration ſo long, and then appearing in regular bands, it was natural to think they were part of Henry's forces.

The Engliſh finding their plot was diſcovered, attacked thoſe who had landed, and cut them all in pieces, except about one hundred and fifty, who were ſent priſoners to London, and hanged on the coaſts of Eſſex, Suffolk, and Norfolk by the king's order: mean while Perkin, affected with the cataſtrophe of his people, and deſpairing of ſucceſs in this attempt, weighed anchor and returned to Flanders.

The king returning from his progreſs in the month of October, convoked a parliament, in which ſeveral laws were made for the eaſe and advantage of the ſubject.

Of theſe the moſt remarkable was a ſtatute, enacting, that no perſon aſſiſting, in arms or otherwiſe, the king for the time being, ſhould be impeached, or attainted on that accuſation. This law ſeems, at firſt ſight, to be made in favour of the ſubject; but, in fact, was meant to hinder individuals from examining too ſtrictly into the king's

king's title, which they would have no longer occaſion to conſider, as their ſafety was enſured by this ſtatute.

There was another law paſſed for obliging thoſe who had not paid their ſhare of the benevolence, to make good their arrears within a certain time; an act which brought large ſums into the king's treaſury, as great part of the ſubſidy remained unpaid, on account of the ſhort continuance of the French war, for the ſupport of which it was voted.

This benevolence muſt have been a moſt intolerable grievance, as it appears from the public records, that the archbiſhop of Canterbury owed no leſs than fifteen hundred pounds of his proportion.

Before the diſſolution of this parliament, Henry received advice, that Perkin Warbeck had landed in Ireland, where he hoped to be joined by all the partizans of the houſe of York, who had formerly eſpouſed his cauſe with ſo much zeal and alacrity. But the ſtate of that kingdom was now entirely altered.

The king, and his deputy Poynings, had taken ſuch wiſe precautions to ſecure the tranquillity of Ireland, that no perſon of any conſequence repaired to his ſtandard; ſo that his friends perſuaded him to apply for aid to James king of Scotland, who, perhaps,

perhaps, would be glad of ſuch a ſpecious pretext for breaking with Henry.

The dutcheſs of Burgundy had carried on a ſecret correſpondence with that prince, who, in all probability, had promiſed to ſupport him before he left Flanders; and the youth is ſaid to have been recommended to his friendſhip by Maximilian, who had ſucceeded his father Frederic as emperor of Germany, and Philip the archduke of Auſtria; both of whom were incenſed at Henry for prohibiting his ſubjects from trading with the Low-Countries.

Perkin, having no hopes of ſucceeding in Ireland, and hearing that the Engliſh coaſts were ſtrictly guarded, ſet ſail for Scotland, and, repairing to Edinburgh, demanded an audience of James, in quality of duke of York. Having obtained his requeſt, he, in a public ſpeech, recounted the viciſſitudes of fortune he had ſuffered, and implored the friendſhip and protection of his majeſty.

James treated him with great kindneſs and hoſpitality, owned him as the ſon of Edward IV. gave him in marriage his own kinſwoman Catherine Gordon, daughter to the earl of Huntley, one of the moſt beautiful and accompliſhed young ladies of the age; and publickly declared that he would aſſiſt him with all his might in recovering the inheritance of his anceſtors.

James

James was of such a generous and romantic disposition, that he may well be supposed to have espoused the cause of a prince in distress from no other motive than that of glory: this, however, was greatly strengthened by the recommendation of Charles the French king, who wanted to embroil Henry at home, that he might not be at leisure to interrupt him in his attempt upon Naples; a kingdom which he conquered, in a few months, more by the terror of his arms, and the pusillanimity of his enemies, than by his own courage and conduct, and which he lost in the same space of time, less by his own imprudence, than by the licentiousness and rapacity of his soldiers.

In the beginning of the next year,* the emperor Maximilian repaired into the Low-Countries, the government of which he resigned to his son Philip, though he was still a minor; and soon after, this young prince dispatched an embassy to Henry, in order, if possible, to renew the treaty of commerce between his dominions and England. As this trade was no less advantageous to the English than the Flemings, their proposal was readily embraced. In the month of February, a treaty of peace and perpetual amity was concluded between the two sovereigns;

* A. D. 1496.

reigns; and the laws of commerce were settled to the entire satisfaction of both nations.

By one of the articles of this treaty, Philip engaged to hinder the dutchess dowager of Burgundy from harbouring or assisting the enemies of the king: and by another it was agreed, that a vessel belonging to the subjects of either prince, shipwrecked on the coasts of England or the Low-Countries, should not be liable to confiscation, provided a man, a woman, a child, a dog, a cat, or a cock, was found alive on board.

The Flemings called this the Great Treaty of Commerce, not only on account of the great number of articles it contained, but likewise to distinguish it from another, which was afterwards concluded, and commonly known by the name of the Bad Treaty, because less advantageous to the Low-Countries.*

Mean while, the Scottish king, not satisfied with affording shelter to Perkin, resolved to place him on the throne of England;

* On the fifth day of March in this year, the king granted a patent to John Cabot, a Venetian, and three of his sons, Lewis, Sebastian, and Sancho, to sail in quest of new lands under English colours, on condition, that, after all their expences should be defrayed, they should give him one fifth of the profit. *Act. Pub.*

land; and being assured that the English would join him in great numbers as soon as he should enter that kingdom, he assembled a numerous army, which he led in person into Northumberland, attended by the young adventurer.

They had no sooner crossed the borders, than Perkin issued a manifesto, in which he exclaimed with great virulence against Henry, as an usurper, tyrant, and murderer; and promised amply to reward those who should espouse the cause of their lawful prince, and assist him in destroying the robber who had deprived him of his crown.

This proclamation, though drawn up with great spirit and precision, produced little or no effect: the English, especially in the Northern counties, were extremely averse to the Scots, and were, by no means, willing to receive a king from their hands: besides, they had been so overawed by the success and severity of the reigning prince, that they were no longer disposed to hazard their lives and fortunes in behalf of a stranger, even though they believed him to be the true son of Edward.

James seeing no prospect of receiving any assistance from the English, and not chusing to lose his labour, ravaged the county of Northumberland to a great extent. This furnished Perkin with an opportunity to ma-

niſeſt his regard for the Engliſh nation, and convince them, if poſſible, that he was the real duke of York: affecting a deep concern for the miſeries of the unhappy ſufferers, he repaired to the tent of the Scottiſh monarch, and beſought him, with tears in his eyes, to ſpare his wretched ſubjects; declaring that he would rather renounce the crown, than gain it by the deſolation of his country.

The Scot replied, with a ſarcaſtic ſmile, that he was too anxious for the preſervation of that which, perhaps, did not belong to him; and, if it did, was as yet in the poſſeſſion of his adverſary.

James being informed that an Engliſh army was advancing againſt him, did not think it prudent to expoſe the large booty he had obtained to the hazard of a battle; and therefore retired with the utmoſt diſpatch into his own country.

Though this invaſion had been productive of no great effect, Henry was ſomewhat apprehenſive of the conſequence. He knew his ſubjects were diſſatisfied with his government; that the Iriſh were entirely devoted to the houſe of York; and that Perkin Warbeck was ſtill at hand to ſeize the firſt favourable opportunity of aſſerting his pretenſions.

The

The better to guard againſt the danger that ſeemed to threaten him from ſo many quarters, he granted a general pardon to all the Iriſh who had formerly joined the pretender, that they might not be prompted to revolt again by fear of puniſhment.

He empowered Richard Fox biſhop of Durham to begin a negociation with James, as of his own accord, and treat of a marriage between that prince and his eldeſt daughter Margaret: he had already engaged with ſeveral other princes of the Continent to oppoſe the deſigns of Charles of France upon Naples; and he now ſent ambaſſadors to Ferdinand and Iſabella of Spain, to confirm the former alliance, and renew the engagements, which had been formerly made, for a marriage between his eldeſt ſon prince Arthur, and Catherine their third daughter.

With regard to Scotland, notwithſtanding the negociation he had begun for a peace with that kingdom, he would not neglect ſuch a favourable opportunity of obtaining a ſubſidy from parliament, which he therefore aſſembled in the month of January.*

In a ſpeech to both houſes, he enlarged, at great length, on the inſult he had received from the king of Scotland; repreſented, in a pathetic manner, the calami-

* A. D. 1497.

ties which the people of the North had ſuffered, in the time of a truce, when they had no reaſon to apprehend any ſuch hoſtilities; and declared, that he could not, conſiſtently with the honour of his crown and the welfare of his ſubjects, allow ſuch an indignity to paſs unpuniſhed.

The parliament took the hint, and granted a ſubſidy of an hundred and twenty thouſand pounds, beſides two fifteenths; and this ſupply he had no ſooner obtained, than he diſmiſſed the aſſembly. He did not queſtion but his negociation with Scotland would prove ſucceſsful; and therefore he ordered his commiſſioners to levy the ſubſidy with the utmoſt expedition, that ſo he might have the money in his coffers before the peace ſhould be concluded, well knowing, that, if that ſtep ſhould once be taken, the people would have a more ſpecious pretext for refuſing payment.

Theſe commiſſioners met with unexpected oppoſition in the county of Cornwal, the inhabitants of which complained loudly that they ſhould be loaded with ſuch an intolerable tax, on account of ſome petty damages which had been done at the other end of the kingdom. Theſe murmurs were farther inflamed by one Michael Joſeph, a blackſmith of Bodmin, and Thomas Flammock, a lawyer.

This

This last offered that the fiefs depending upon the crown were the proper funds allotted for defraying the charges of war; that the persons who enjoyed those fiefs held them on condition of securing the borders; that, in case of an invasion from Scotland, the king ought to apply to the barons in the North, and not plunder the kingdom under the sanction of parliament.

He said it would be shameful to comply with such an unreasonable imposition which was the contrivance of wicked ministers, who made their court to the king at the expence of the poor people; that they ought to take arms in their own defence; and, without doing harm to any person whatever, go and petition his majesty, beseeching him to ease them of such an intolerable tax, and punish his evil counsellors, the chief of whom were archbishop Morton, and Sir Reginald Bray, the two ministers, whose advice he followed in all affairs of this nature.

The populace being thus wrought up to a proper pitch of fury, the lawyer and the blacksmith offered to lead them, until they should be headed by some person of note, which they insinuated would soon be the case; and they instantly armed themselves with such weapons as they could find.

Under the conduct of these two incendiaries, they marched through the counties of Devon and Somerset, their numbers being daily augmented in their way. At Taunton they killed the provost of Perin, who was one of the collectors of the subsidy, and had been too rigorous in the execution of his office; and this was the only outrage of which they were guilty.

At Wells they were joined by the lord Audeley, a restless and factious nobleman, who being appointed their general, led them to Salisbury and Winchester, without permitting them to commit the least violence in the places through which they passed.

Instead of advancing directly to London, according to their original scheme, they wheeled off towards Kent, in hopes of being joined by the people of that county, who had frequently distinguished themselves by their zeal in defending the liberty of the subject.

But they were disappointed in their expectation: the noblemen and freeholders of Kent had taken such prudent measures to preserve the public tranquillity, that not a single person in the county offered to take up arms; a circumstance which dispirited the rebels to such a degree, that many of them withdrew to their own habitations.

The rest, however, encouraged by the seeming indolence of the king, who had hitherto

hitherto ſuffered them to proceed without moleſtation, continued their march, boaſting they would either give him battle or take London under his eye: with this reſolution they advanced as far as Blackheath, and encamped between Eltham and Greenwich.

When the king was firſt informed of this inſurrection, he had already aſſembled an army for the Scottiſh war, and beſtowed the command of it upon the lord chamberlain d'Aubigney; but now he determined to keep the beſt part of his troops in the ſouthern part of the kingdom, and detached the earl of Surrey with a ſmall body of forces to ſecure the northern frontiers. Hearing that the rebels committed no outrages in their march, he remained inactive, that he might diſcover the diſpoſitions of his ſubjects, by the numbers that would join them in the ſeveral counties, through which they paſſed: he had ſome hopes, that, wearied with the length and fatigues of their march, they would ſeparate of their own accord; and, ſhould they ever advance to the neighbourhood of London, he foreſaw, that they might be more eaſily defeated at ſuch a diſtance from their own homes, than they could have been in the weſtern counties of England.

The

The citizens of London were filled with terror at their approach, until they saw the king begin to take measures for their defence, and even post himself between them and the enemy.

He no sooner learned that they had encamped on Blackheath, than he divided his army into three bodies, one of which, conducted by the earl of Oxford, took a compass round the hill, in order to intercept them in their retreat, and attack them in the rear, should such a step be found expedient. The second, under the conduct of the lord d'Aubigney, was appointed to charge them in front; and Henry himself, with the third division, took post in St. George's Fields, with a view to support the others in case of necessity, or, in the last extremity, to throw himself into the city.

Having taken these prudent precautions, he spread a report that he meant to give battle to the rebels or Monday, though his real design was to attack them on Saturday, which, of all the days in the week, he deemed the most propitious to his fortune.

This stratagem succeeded to his wish. On the twenty-second day of June, towards the evening, the lord d'Aubigney advanced against them in order of battle. Having routed an advanced guard at Deptford-Bridge,

Bridge, where they made a vigorous defence, he aſcended the hill, and found them advanced to the middle of the heath, and forming their lines, though not without marks of great confuſion; for they vainly imagined the king would have kept his word, and not have attacked them till the Monday following. Nevertheleſs, they received the attack of the enemy with the moſt determined reſolution, and ſlew above three hundred of the king's ſoldiers, with arrows of a yard in length.

The lord d'Aubigney charged them with ſuch impetuoſity, that he was made priſoner in the beginning of the action, but immediately reſcued by the bravery of his men, who fought with uncommon courage, and the rebels were defeated with great ſlaughter; for, when they endeavoured to fly, they found their retreat cut off by the earl of Oxford's diviſion.

The lord Audeley, Flammock, and the blackſmith, were taken priſoners; and of ſixteen thouſand, to which their number is ſaid to have amounted, two thouſand were ſlain on the ſpot: the reſt were obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion.

Audeley was beheaded on Tower-hill: Flammock and the blackſmith were hanged at Tyburn, the latter boaſting, with a prepoſterous ambition, that he would make a figure

figure in history; and all the rest were indulged with a pardon.

During these transactions in the south, the king of Scotland made a second irruption into England, and laid siege to the castle of Norham; but the earl of Surrey advancing to its relief, he retreated into his own country, whither he was closely pursued by the English general, who reduced the castle of Ayton, situated between Berwick and Edinburgh.

There was nothing of which the king of England was more desirous, than of a peace with Scotland, by which he would be, at once, delivered from all fears of Perkin Warbeck, and enabled to save his money, which, next to the preservation of his crown, was his greatest concern; but he was unwilling to make the first proposal, lest he should meet with a refusal.

In this perplexity, he bethought himself of a proper agent to manage a treaty between the two nations, without exposing his honour to the danger of a repulse.

This was Don Pedro d'Ayala, the Spanish envoy, sent by Ferdinand and Isabella to finish the contract of marriage between Arthur prince of Wales, and the infanta Catherine. This minister engaged to wait upon the king of Scotland, and, as of his own accord, propose an accommodation.

He

He accordingly repaired to Edinburgh, and opened the matter to James, alledging, at the ſame time, that nothing would be more agreeable to his maſter, the king of Spain, than to ſee two monarchs, who were his friends and allies, live in harmony and concord with each other.

He found the Scottiſh king ſo well inclined to a peace, that he informed Henry, by a letter, of the great hopes he had of ſucceeding; and conferences were immediately begun at Ayton, under the mediation of this ambaſſador.

The greateſt difficulty in adjuſting the articles, was concerning the fate of Perkin Warbeck, whoſe perſon Henry demanded, and whom James refuſed to put into his hands. The biſhop of Durham, who was one of the commiſſioners, finding he could not carry this point, propoſed an interview between the two kings at Newcaſtle; but the Scot replied, that, deſirous ſoever as he might be of a peace, he ſcorned to go and beg it in his enemy's country.

At length an expedient was found, which anſwered the views of both parties. It was reſolved, that James ſhould diſmiſs the pretended duke of York in an honourable manner, and afterwards proceed with the negociation, as if no ſuch perſon had ever exiſted.

In

In consequence of this resolution, James told the young adventurer, that he had done all that lay in his power to enable him to assert his pretensions; that he had twice conducted him into England, at the head of a numerous army; but that, as the English had refused to declare in his favour, he could not imagine that the Scots would be able, without their concurrence, to place him on the throne of England.

He therefore advised him to form some more feasible scheme for the prosecution of his project, and fix his residence in some other country; nevertheless, he assured him, that he would faithfully perform his promise, that he should never have reason to repent of having put himself into his hands; for he should be dismissed in a manner suitable to his rank, and furnished with troops and necessaries for his voyage.

Perkin submitted to his hard fate, with great magnanimity and resignation; returned his grateful acknowledgments to the king of Scotland, for all the favours he had received from his bounty; and begged that he and his wife might be conveyed into Ireland. James granted his request; and he soon after landed at Corke, where he had still some friends and adherents.

He had no sooner departed from Scotland, than the commissioners at Ayton concluded

cluded a truce for ſeven years, implying, that the two kings ſhould not make war upon each other, by themſelves, their ſubjects, or any other perſon whatſoever; in which article Perkin Warbeck, though not expreſsly mentioned, was tacitly included: that certain diſputes, which the ambaſſadors could not adjuſt, ſhould be referred to the deciſion of Ferdinand and Iſabella: and that the truce ſhould be prolonged till one year after the death of that party who ſhould ſurvive the other.

Since the treaty of Eſtaples, Henry had maintained a friendly correſpondence with Charles king of France, who, dying about this juncture, was ſucceeded by the duke of Orleans, under the name of Lewis XII.

This prince was no leſs inclined, than his predeceſſor, to live on good terms with Henry. He directed his whole attention to the affairs of Italy; and therefore found it neceſſary to cultivate the friendſhip of the Engliſh monarch, who might have traverſed his ſchemes, by making a diverſion in Picardy.

Immediately upon his acceſſion to the throne, he obtained a diſſolution of his marriage with Jane, daughter of Lewis XI. that he might marry Anne of Brittany, relict of the late king. Without ſuch a precaution,

he might poſſibly have ſeen the dutchy of Bretagn torn once more from the crown of France, and transferred into the hands of a foreign family.

Though Henry was at peace with all the powers of Europe, he was far from being on the ſame footing with his own ſubjects. His lenity to the Corniſh rebels, who had been diſmiſſed without any other puniſhment than their being obliged to pay two or three ſhillings each for their ranſom, inſtead of attaching them to his perſon and government, ſerved only to give riſe to freſh commotions.*

They had no ſooner returned to their own habitations, than they began to whiſper, that the indulgence with which they had been treated, was not owing to the king's clemency, but to his fear of his own ſubjects, three-fourths of whom entertained the ſame ſentiments which they avowed.

Their friends and neighbours concluding, from theſe inſinuations, that the whole kingdom was ready to revolt, they began to flock together, and concert, in private, the means of raiſing another rebellion. Some of the moſt bold and adventurous among them, hearing that Perkin Warbeck was in Ireland, propoſed that he ſhould be deſired to

* A. D. 1498.

to come over and conduct them in their future operations.

This propoſal being approved, they ſent a meſſenger to acquaint him, that, if he would repair to Cornwal, the people would receive him with open arms, and hazard their lives and fortunes, in order to place him on the Engliſh throne.

Perkin being deſtitute of all reſource, and having no hopes of aſſiſtance from any other quarter, accepted the invitation, by the advice of his three chief counſellors, viz. a bankrupt mercer called Herne, one Skelton a taylor, and a ſcrivener of the name of Aſtley.

He immediately ſet ſail, with about ſeventy perſons, in four ſmall veſſels, and, landing at Whitſand-bay, on the ſeventh of September, proceeded to Bodmin, where the former inſurrection began.

There having aſſembled a body of about three thouſand men, he iſſued a proclamation, in which he aſſumed the title of Richard IV. of England; loaded Henry Tudor with many ſevere reproaches; and endeavoured to perſuade the people, by magnificent promiſes, to take up arms and dethrone the uſurper.

Then he advanced to Exeter, of which he reſolved to take poſſeſſion, as well to eſtabliſh a magazine in the place, as to

make it serve for a retreat, in case of any disaster. Being refused admittance, he tampered with the citizens; but, finding them unshaken in their loyalty, he determined to storm the city.

As he had no artillery, he endeavoured to effect his purpose by scaling the walls, and setting fire to one of the gates; but the inhabitants made a brave and vigorous defence, and repulsed the assailants with the loss of two hundred men.

When Henry was apprized of these circumstances, he expressed great satisfaction at the news, saying, in derision, that now the king of Rakehell was arrived in England, he hoped to have the pleasure of his company before he should quit the kingdom. At the same time he intimated, that he would liberally reward the services which any of his nobility should do him on this occasion.

In consequence of this hint, several lords and gentlemen of the county of Devon, collected troops of their own accord; and the king commanded the lord d'Aubigney to march to the relief of Exeter, adding, that he would immediately follow him in person, at the head of a numerous army.

Perkin, being informed of these preparations, abandoned the siege and retreated to Taunton, where he declared he would venture

ture an engagement; but in the night he fled, with some of his confidents, to the sanctuary of Beaulieu in the new forest.

The lord d'Aubigney, hearing of his retreat, detached three hundred horse in pursuit of him; but finding him already in the sanctuary, they surrounded the house, until they should receive further instructions. Mean while the rebels, amounting to about six thousand men, seeing themselves deserted by their chief, laid down their arms and submitted to the mercy of the king, who granted a pardon to the whole, except some of the ringleaders, whom he caused to be hanged *in terrorem*.

He afterwards sent a party of horse to St. Michael's mount, to seize the lady Catherine Gordon, the wife of Perkin, conscious that if she was with child, the rebellion might be continued to the latest posterity.

When that lady was brought into the king's presence, he was so charmed with her beauty and modest behaviour, that he comforted her in the most tender and affectiona e terms, and assured her, that, notwithstanding the deception into which she had been led, from an opinion of her husband's being the real duke of York, she should have no cause to repent of having fallen into his hands: as a proof of his sin-

cerity, he immediately ſent her under a ſtrong guard to attend upon the queen, and ſettled upon her a handſome penſion, which ſhe continued to enjoy even under his ſucceſſor.

Henry, having taken this neceſſary precaution, advanced to Exeter; on entering the city, he took his ſword from his ſide and preſented it to the mayor, to be always carried before that magiſtrate, as a mark of the king's favour and regard for the citizens, who had ſignalized themſelves ſo remarkably in the ſupport of his government.

He then appointed commiſſioners to impoſe fines on ſuch as had any ſhare in the late rebellion; and theſe agents proceeded with ſo much rigour and ſeverity, in the execution of their office, that many people were tempted to ſay the king meant to deſtroy, by hunger and famine, thoſe lives which he had ſaved from the gallows.

The inſurrection being effectually ſuppreſſed, Henry ſummoned a council to conſider of the fate of Perkin, who ſtill remained in the ſanctuary; and, after ſome deliberation, it was reſolved, that the king ſhould grant him a pardon, on condition of his acknowledging and explaining every particular of the impoſture, which he had ſo long ſupported. Deprived, as he was,

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of all hopes of relief, he chearfully accepted the king's offer, and left the ſanctuary.

Henry being deſirous of ſeeing him, he was conducted to court, where the king viewed him from a window, but would never allow him to come into his preſence. He was afterwards conveyed to London, and, by Henry's order, rode in public through the ſtreets from Weſtminſter to the Tower, and back again, amidſt the deriſion and inſults of the people, which he bore with great equanimity and compoſure.

Soon after, he made an ample confeſſion of his life and adventures, which was immediately publiſhed, for the ſatisfaction of the public: but as Henry, from a regard to decency, thought proper to conceal the ſhare which the dutcheſs dowager of Burgundy had in the plot, the people, who knew that ſhe had been a principal inſtrument in the whole affair, were induced, on account of his ſilence on that head, to give the leſs credit to the authenticity of the narrative.

Though Perkin had obtained a pardon, he was ſtill retained in cuſtody, and keepers were appointed to watch him. Weary of confinement, and deſirous of liberty, he broke looſe from his guard, and, eſcaping

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to the monastery of Shene, implored the protection of the prior.

That ecclesiastic, who was greatly respected for the sanctity of his manners, easily persuaded the king to forgive, once more, this young adventurer. But, in order to render him truly contemptible, he was set in the stocks at Westminster and Cheapside, and obliged, in both places, to read aloud to the people the confession which had formerly been published in his name.*

He was then committed to the Tower, where his restless and intriguing spirit soon led him into a plot which deprived him of his life. He found means to gain the good graces of four servants of Sir John Digby, lieutenant of the Tower; and, by their connivance, engaged in a correspondence with the earl of Warwick, who was confined in the same prison.

That unhappy prince, who from his earliest infancy had been cut off from all social intercourse; and who was so ignorant of the common affairs of life, that he could hardly distinguish the domestic animals by name, had fallen into a simplicity that rendered him susceptible of any impressions.

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* A. D. 1499.

A ſenſe of the hardſhips he had already ſuffered from Henry's jealouſy; the continued apprehenſion of feeling the more fatal effects of that prince's tyranny; and the love of liberty which is ſo natural to the mind of man; all theſe motives induced him to embrace a project for his eſcape by the murder of the lieutenant; and Perkin undertook to conduct the whole enterprize.

This conſpiracy could not long eſcape the quick and penetrating eye of Henry; it was even ſuppoſed that the ſcheme was contrived by himſelf, in order to draw Perkin and Warwick into the ſnare: but the execution of two of Digby's ſervants, who were hanged for the plot, ſeems to acquit the king of that imputation, which was rather founded on his general character of cunning and addreſs, than on any poſitive evidence.

This freſh attempt, added to his former crimes, had rendered Perkin altogether unworthy of mercy; and he was accordingly tried, condemned, and ſoon after hanged at Tyburn, perſiſting to the laſt in the confeſſion of his impoſture.

Some late writers, either from prejudice, ignorance, or want of attention, have been ſo unaccountable as to queſtion whether Perkin was a counterfeit, and even to affirm

firm that he was the real Richard Plantagenet duke of York.

But, in order to be convinced of the abſurdity of this opinion, we need only reflect, that had not the queen-mother, and the other heads of the York party, been firmly perſuaded of the death of both the young princes, they would never have agreed to invite into England the earl of Richmond, the head of the Lancaſtrian party, and beſtow upon him the princeſs Elizabeth in marriage: that the ſtory told by Perkin of his pretended eſcape from the Tower, and of his having obtained his life from the pity and compaſſion of the ruffians who murdered his brother, is abſolutely incredible: that he could never give any ſatisfactory account of the manner in which he paſſed his time during the ſeven years that elapſed between his ſuppoſed death and his appearance in Ireland: that, during that time, no application was ever made to the queen-mother, the dutcheſs of Burgundy, or the other friends of the family, for his ſupport and education: that though the dutcheſs of Burgundy at laſt owned him as her nephew, ſhe had loſt all pretence to credit and authority by the countenance ſhe had formerly given to Lambert Simnel, a notorious impoſtor: that Perkin himſelf confeſſed his impoſture; that he read his confeſſion

confeſſion before the whole people; and even renewed it at the foot of the gibbet on which he was executed: and that, after the acceſſion of Henry the eighth, the titles of the houſe of York and Lancaſter were fully united in the ſame perſon, and there was no longer any neceſſity for defending the title or character of Henry the ſeventh; yet all the hiſtorians of that time, when the events were recent and well known, and ſome of theſe hiſtorians of undoubted veracity, agree in treating Perkins as an impoſtor.

But juſtifiable ſoever as Hentry's treatment of Perkin might be, his ſeverity to the earl of Warwick will not admit of the ſame vindication. It happened about this time, that one Wilford, a cordwainer's ſon, prompted by the ſurprizing ſucceſs of other impoſtures, had ventured to aſſume the character of the earl of Warwick; and an Auguſtine monk had even preſumed from the pulpit to recommend his cauſe to the people, who ſeemed ſtill inclined to eſpouſe it.

This incident ſerved as a pretext to Henry for the cruel puniſhment he inflicted upon that unhappy prince. He was brought to trial, and accuſed, not of attempting his eſcape (for as he was not committed for any crime, an attempt of that nature could not be deemed criminal) but of forming a

deſign

design to disturb the government, and raise an insurrection in favour of Perkin. Warwick pleading guilty was condemned, and executed, to the great sorrow and regret of the people, who bitterly inveighed against Henry for this act of cruelty and injustice.

In vain did he endeavour to lessen the odium of this crime, by dividing it with his ally, Ferdinand of Spain, who, he said, refused to give his daughter in marriage to to Arthur, while any prince of the family of York remained alive.

This pretence, instead of being deemed an apology, was only considered as an aggravation of the guilt, and people were inflamed with the greater indignation, at seeing a young prince sacrificed, not to law and justice, but to the detestable politics of two cunning and crafty tyrants.

Next year * the peace of Estaples was approved and ratified by the states of France, convened at Nantz; and the pope issued a bull of excommunication against that prince who should first infringe the treaty. Alexander VI. who now filled the papal chair, having published a jubilee for the beginning of the century, allowed those Christians who lived at a great distance from Rome, to purchase, for a certain sum, the privilege of the jubilee,

* A. D. 1500.

jubilee, without being obliged to visit the churches of that city.

In order to levy the money arising from this indulgence, he dispatched commissioners into all the states of Christendom; and appointed a Spaniard, called Gaspar Pons, as his agent in England, where he raised a considerable contribution.

This nuncio was ordered to acquaint the king, that his holiness had determined to publish a crusade against the Turks, and even go in person with the English monarch, the Venetians, and the princes of Italy, to attack Constantinople by sea, while the other powers of Europe should invade their territories in Thrace, Greece, and different parts of the Continent.

Henry at once concluded, from the known character of Alexander, that his only aim was to amass money, by contributions for this enterprize. Nevertheless, he thought proper to conceal his sentiments, and even expressed the utmost zeal and ardour for the success of the expedition.

He offered to contribute a large proportion of men and money; to command under the pope in person; and demanded, that some strong towns, on the coast of Italy, should be put into his hands, to serve as a retreat in case of necessity.

He carried the farce so far, that he named commissioners to go and treat with the pontiff on this subject; and made such pompous professions of zeal for the interest of religion, that the knights of Rhodes elected him protector of their order.

But as this was a romantic scheme which Alexander never meant to carry into execution, Henry enjoyed all the credit of his magnificent promises, without having his sincerity put to the trial: and the other princes of Europe discovering a great aversion to the pope's proposal, the whole project vanished into air.

As the plague raged in England with great violence, Henry, after having frequently changed the place of his residence, retired with his queen and family to Calais, where he proposed to continue until the pestilence should abate.

He no sooner arrived at that place, than he received an embassy from the archduke Philip, desiring a friendly conference; and the king proposed to meet him in the church of St. Peter, which stands without the gates of Calais, as Philip expressed an aversion to enter a fortified city.

At the time appointed for their interview, Henry, being apprized of his approach, rode out to receive him on horseback, and Philip, dismounting, ran up to hold his stirrup;

ſtirrup; but Henry would not admit of ſuch condeſcenſion, and they mutually embraced with marks of the moſt ſincere regard.

Then they went into the church, where they had a long conference, in which the archduke deſired to live in harmony and concord with the Engliſh monarch, whom he called his father, patron, and protector.

During the king's abode at Calais, he received a viſit from the governor of Picardy, and the bailiff of Amiens, who were ſent by Lewis of France to compliment him on his arrival in the Continent. That prince, in order to manifeſt his regard for the king of England, had procured a bull from the pope, denouncing him excommunicated, ſhould he ever fail to remit to Henry the yearly penſion ſtipulated by the treaty of Eſtaples.

The pope, at the ſame time, granted a diſpenſation for a marriage between James king of Scotland, and Margaret Henry's eldeſt daughter, the articles of which had been previouſly adjuſted by the ambaſſadors of the two kingdoms.

As Henry was now at peace with all his neighbours, and the kingdom enjoyed the moſt perfect tranquillity, he could not, with any appearance of equity, demand freſh ſubſidies from parliament; but as his avarice was altogether inſatiable, he reſolved to

ſqueeze the party of Warbeck, until they ſhould be wholly exhauſted.

Taking it for granted that the partizans of this impoſtor were ſtill ſubject to the rigour of the law, he inſiſted that they ſhould accept of ſeparate pardons; a favour, which, though they did not deſire, they were obliged to purchaſe with large ſums of money.

Nor was he content with fleecing the living, he even ſeemed determined to plunder the dead; for he ordered his commiſſioners to ſeize the effects of the deceaſed, in caſe their heirs ſhould refuſe to compound for their pardons.

Theſe cruel and tyrannical proceedings were commonly aſcribed to the pernicious advice of cardinal Morton archbiſhop of Canterbury; but it ſoon appeared that they were the genuine reſult of Henry's diſpoſition; for though Morton died about this period, and was ſucceeded by the biſhop of Saliſbury, the king ſtill continued to purſue his former practice.

In the beginning of the enſuing year,* Henry was alarmed by an accident, which, however ominous at its firſt appearance, was attended with no bad effect. The earl of Suffolk, nephew to king Edward IV. and

* A. D. 1501.

and brother to the earl of Lincoln, who had loſt his life in the battle of Stoke, happened to kill a man in his paſſion; and though he was a branch of the family of York, the king was pleaſed to grant him a pardon; but in order to throw a ſlur upon his character, he obliged him to appear perſonally, and plead his pardon in public.

The earl, being naturally proud and reſentful, was ſo highly incenſed at this affront, that he withdrew in diſguſt to his aunt Margaret, dutcheſs dowager of Flanders; and Henry was not a little alarmed at his retreat.

In order to prevent any deſigns which he might form to his prejudice, he diſpatched ſome emiſſaries, who, by dint of promiſes and profeſſions, prevailed upon him to return and be reconciled to the government.

Henry having now, by the death of Perkin and the earl of Warwick, ſecured his crown againſt all pretenders, Ferdinand of Arragon ſent over his daughter Catherine, who arriving in England in the month of October, was married to Arthur prince of Wales, and the nuptials were ſolemnized at London with great pomp and magnificence on the fourteenth day of November, the prince being then in the ſixteenth year of his age, and the lady turned of eighteen.

Her portion amounted to two hundred thousand ducats in money, plate and jewels; and a third part of the principality of Wales, dutchy of Cornwal, and earldom of Chester was allotted as her jointure, in case her husband should die before her accession to the throne.

This match was followed by another marriage between the king of Scotland, and Henry's daughter Margaret, to whom her father gave a dower of thirty thousand crowns.

The articles of contract were signed by the Scottish ambassadors at London, on the twenty-fourth day of January:* and the nuptials were celebrated by proxy, amidst the rejoicings of the people, who hoped, that this alliance would extinguish the spirit of rancour and animosity which had so long prevailed between the two kingdoms, though, perhaps, they did not dream of the union, to which it afterwards gave birth.

When this affair was examined in council, an English nobleman observed, that if the king's male issue should die before him, the crown would fall to the king of Scotland; to which objection Henry replied, that in such a case Scotland would become an accession to England, as the smaller king-

* A. D. 1502.

kingdom would always be ſwallowed up by the greater.

On this occaſion, a treaty of perpetual peace and friendſhip between the two nations was ratified and confirmed, together with certain articles for preventing inroads on either ſide; but the conſummation of the marriage was, on account of the tender years of the princeſs, deferred till the enſuing year, when the king attended her as far as York, where he committed her and her retinue to the care of the earl of Northumberland, who, with a ſplendid train of noblemen and ladies, conducted her to her huſband at Edinburgh.

The joy occaſioned by this marriage was ſoon damped by the death of Arthur prince of Wales, who expired at Ludlow caſtle on the ſecond day of April, about five months after his nuptials. His fate was deeply lamented by the people of England, who flattered themſelves with the proſpect of a happy reign under a prince of his accompliſhments; and in about ſix months after his deceaſe, his brother Henry was, in the twelfth year of his age, created prince of Wales and earl of Cheſter.

About this period, the king received an embaſſy from the emperor Maximilian, propoſing a league againſt the Turks, and deſiring the loan of a certain ſum of money

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but Henry, conſcious of Maximilian's poverty, and his utter inability to diſcharge the debt, thought proper to preſent him with ten thouſand pounds as a free gift, without any other ſtipulation, than that it ſhould be employed in the war againſt the infidels.

At the ſame time he concluded a treaty of commerce, friendſhip, and alliance with him, to remain in force for one year after the death of the longeſt liver: Maximilian and his ſon were created knights of the garter, and the emperor beſtowed upon Henry the order of the golden fleece.

In the beginning of the year,* Henry's queen Elizabeth died in childbed, very little regreted by her huſband, who had always treated her with great coldneſs and indifference; and even ſeemed to rejoice at her death, as a happy event that delivered him from an odious rival in his title to the crown.

As he was now at peace with all his neighbours, and had no affairs of any importance to engage his attention, he returned to his former cuſtom of fleecing his ſubjects in order to fill his own coffers.

For this purpoſe he employed two infamous miniſters, named Empſon and Dudley, who

* A. D. 1503.

who had been bred to the law, and practiced all its quirks and quibbles in oppreſſing the ſubjects with falſe and frivolous accuſations, until they were glad to purchaſe what theſe harpies called a mitigation, by giving up the beſt part of their ſubſtance.

Such was their rapacity and inſolence, that they even violated the common forms of juſtice, proceeding, with the moſt deſpotic authority, to attach pretended delinquents, and try them, in private, without indulging them with a fair examination or the verdict of a jury; and theſe acts of violence they exerciſed under the ſanction of the king's name; Henry ſuffering his dignity to be thus ſhamefully proſtituted for the ſake of the ſums which he thereby procured.

He ordered them to keep regular accompts of their extortions, and even obſerved a kind of diſtributive juſtice in the very practice of injuſtice itſelf.

Lord Verulam acquaints us, that he had ſeen a book of ſuch accompts kept by Empſon, and ſubſcribed in almoſt every page by the king's own hand: among other articles, he takes notice of the following, "Item, received of ſuch a one five marks "for a pardon; which, if it do not paſs, "the money to be repaid, or the party o-"therwiſe ſatisfied." Oppoſite to this memorandum,

morandum, the king had writ with his own hand; "otherwise satisfied." It had been found inconvenient, it seems, to suffer the pardon to pass; but the king's hands being of a clammy substance, could not part with the money which they had once touched.

Nor was it only his enemies, or persons of an indifferent character, whom he thus plundered: even his friends, at least those to whom he lay under the strongest obligations, were not secure from the effects of his avarice.

One day, while he was splendidly entertained by the earl of Oxford, to whom, in a great measure, he owed his crown, he observed a greater number of domestics in livery than the law allowed him to maintain; and addressing himself to the earl; "my "lord (said he) I have heard much of "your hospitality; but the truth exceeds "the report. These handsome gentlemen "and yeomen are, no doubt, your menial "servants." The earl smiled, and replied, that his fortune was too inconsiderable to support such magnificence. "They are most "of them (subjoined he) my retainers, "who are come to do me service at such a "time, when they knew I was honoured "with your majesty's presence." The king affected surprize, and replied, with some warmth,

warmth, "By my faith, my lord, I am "obliged to you for my good chear; but "I must not suffer my laws to be thus "broken in my sight. My attorney must "talk with you." Oxford is said to have payed no less than fifteen thousand marks, as a composition for this offence.

Such acts of tyranny and oppression could not fail to expose the king, and his ministers, to the hatred and indignation of the people, who inveighed bitterly against the administration; and this discontent encouraged the earl of Suffolk, who had almost ruined his fortune by his own luxury and extravagance, to concert new projects against the person and government of Henry.

He enjoyed a high degree of popularity, as the surviving branch of the house of York; he privately persuaded some persons, of power and credit, to espouse his interest; and then withdrew to Flanders, in hopes of procuring succour and assistance from the dutchess dowager of Burgundy.

Henry, startled at his retreat, and desirous to know the particulars of his scheme, with the names of his confederates, employed the same expedient which he had practised with so much success in the case of Perkin Warbeck.

Sir

Sir Robert Curſon, governor of the caſtle of Hammes near Calais, being properly tutored, relinquiſhed his charge, on account of ſome injury which he pretended to have received from the king; and, repairing to Flanders, made a tender of his ſervice to the earl of Suffolk.

He played his part with ſo much addreſs, that, in a little time, he gained the good graces of the earl; and ſoon diſcovered the names of all his confederates.

Theſe particulars were immediately tranſmitted to Henry, who forthwith gave orders for apprehending his own brother-in-law, William Courtney, earl of Devonſhire, huſband to the princeſs Catherine, daughter of Edward IV. William de la Pole, brother to the earl of Suffolk, Sir James Tyrrel, and Sir John Wyndham: George lord Abergavenny, and Sir Thomas Green, were ſeized at the ſame time, upon ſlight ſuſpicion, but ſoon diſmiſſed.

The earl of Devonſhire, and William de la Pole, though nothing criminal could be proved againſt them, were confined in priſon during the king's life. Tyrrel was beheaded on Tower-hill; a fate which he well deſerved, by the concern he had in the murder of Edward V. and his brother: Wyndham underwent the ſame puniſhment;

ment; and several others were executed as traitors.

Henry, desirous to be still better informed of the particular nature of Suffolk's project, employed a very uncommon method to support Sir Robert Curson in the confidence of that nobleman. He published, in St. Paul's church, the bull of pope Innocent VIII. denouncing the censures of the church against all those who should disturb him in the possession of the throne; and ordered the earl of Suffolk, and Sir Robert Curson, to be excommunicated by name.

When this spy had made himself master of all the earl's secrets, he repaired to England, and was received into the king's favour, which, however, he did not enjoy without the imprecations of the people, who detested him for his perfidy and baseness.

Suffolk, finding himself betrayed, laid aside all thoughts of prosecuting his design; and, after having roved about for some time in Germany, he returned to Flanders, where the archduke, after the death of the dutchess dowager, took him under his protection.

Henry, having secured himself against all danger from this quarter, began to turn his attention to another affair, which to him was equally interesting.

As the late prince of Wales had died without iſſue, he plainly perceived that he muſt either ſend back his widow to Spain, and conſequently refund the moiety of her dower, which he had already received; or, ſhould he allow her to remain in England, he muſt neceſſarily put her in poſſeſſion of that jointure, which had formerly been aſſigned for her maintenance.

Both theſe alternatives were equally diſagreeable to a prince of Henry's diſpoſition. At length he bethought himſelf of the following expedient, which at once delivered him from his preſent embaraſſment. He propoſed to Ferdinand and Iſabella, that the young widow ſhould be married to Henry prince of Wales, brother to her late huſband; and the propoſal was approved by the lady's parents, provided the pope's diſpenſation could be obtained.

In the agreement made between the two courts, on this ſubject, one reaſon aſſigned for demanding the diſpenſation, was, that the marriage between Arthur and Catherine had been duly ſolemnized and conſummated; and pope Julius II. when he granted his diſpenſation, expreſsly obſerved in the bull, that Catherine in her petition confeſſed her former marriage had been formally ſolemnized, and perhaps conſummated. That this was actually the caſe, appears from the con-

converſation that paſſed between Arthur and his attendants on the morning after he had lain with the princeſs.

In the beginning of the next year,* the king convoked a parliament, on pretence of making new laws, but in reality to procure a ſubſidy for the portion of his eldeſt daughter; and accordingly he received a greater ſum than he paid to her huſband the king of Scotland; ſo that the marriage was every way to his advantage.

Henry's authority was now become ſo deſpotic, and the ſpirit of the people was ſo effectually tamed, that the commons were obliged to chuſe for their ſpeaker that very Dudley whom the whole nation abhorred as the inſtrument employed by the king in all his cruel exactions.

This daſtardly parliament deſired him to accept of forty thouſand pounds, in lieu of aids for knighting his eldeſt ſon Arthur, and marrying his daughter Margaret; and he, as a proof of his equity and moderation, and his tender regard for the good of his people, was graciouſly pleaſed to remit one fourth of that ſum, the reſt being levied on the cities, boroughs, towns, and freeholders of the kingdom.

* A. D. 1504.

He likewiſe amaſſed large ſums by an act paſſed in this parliament, confiſcating the eſtates of ſeveral perſons who had been concerned in the inſurrections from the very beginning of his reign; as well as by another, revoking all grants and patents enjoyed by thoſe who either refuſed to appear, when cited, in the king's defence againſt enemies and rebels, or withdrew from that ſervice without permiſſion.

The patents of jails were likewiſe reſumed, and re-annexed to the ſheriffwicks: a prohibition was laid upon ſilks of foreign manufacture: a law was made againſt the currency of clipped ſilver pieces which were ordered to be recoined; and ſeveral other regulations were made for the ſupport of civil policy.

Notwithſtanding the large ſums which Henry procured by theſe methods, he iſſued commiſſions for a general benevolence, tho' he could not alledge the leaſt pretence for ſuch an impoſition; and the city of London was obliged to purchaſe the confirmation of its liberties by the payment of five thouſand marks.

Not content with the ſecond moiety of Catherine's portion, which he now received, the ſupply voted by parliament, the confiſcation of eſtates, the profits of a recoinage, the benevolence, and the redemption

tion of the city's liberties, he ſtill continued to oppreſs the ſubjects by means of Empſon and Dudley, who, at the ſame time that they filled the king's coffers, took care to amaſs immenſe fortunes for themſelves.

That theſe harpies might be allowed to pick the pockets of the people with the greater eaſe and facility, Henry reſolved to faſcinate their eyes with the parade of idle pomp and pageantry.

With this view he ordered the body of Henry VI. to be conveyed from Windſor to Weſtminſter, where it was interred with great ſolemnity; and ſolicited the pope for a bull to canonize that monarch: but the miracles, aſcribed to that prince, were ſo ill atteſted, that his holineſs would not admit him into the number of the ſaints, without ſuch a conſideration as Henry was unwilling to give; in conſequence of which the deceaſed king was ſuffered to remain in the claſs of common mortals.

About this period, Henry's attention was engaged by a foreign event, in which he conſidered himſelf as deeply intereſted. Iſabel, queen of Caſtile, dying in the month of November, her huſband Ferdinand diſpatched an ambaſſador to acquaint Henry with her deceaſe, and at the ſame time inform him, that he had conſtituted him (viz. Ferdinand) adminiſtrator of the king-

dom of Caſtile, for their daughter Joan, wife of Philip archduke of Auſtria.

As this prince was engaged in a war with the duke of Guelderland, he was not at leiſure to go to Spain, and take poſſeſſion of his new inheritance; he was therefore obliged, for the preſent, to leave the adminiſtration in the hands of his father-in-law; but determined to deprive him of it with the firſt favourable opportunity.

On the other hand, Ferdinand claimed a right to the government during his life, on pretence that no particular time was fixed by Iſabel's laſt will.

The deciſion of this point was a matter of great importance to Henry, whoſe ſituation was exactly the ſame with that of Ferdinand. He was ſenſible that the greater part of his ſubjects conſidered his late ſpouſe Elizabeth as the rightful queen of England; and that her right had now, of courſe, devolved to the prince of Wales, her heir and lawful ſucceſſor. He therefore regarded the iſſue of the diſpute between Ferdinand and Philip, as a precedent either for or againſt his own title.

He was apprehenſive that Philip would enter into a confederacy with Lewis XII. and the emperor, in order to deprive his father-in-law of the government of Caſtile, in which caſe he ſhould be obliged

ed to assist his ally against three powerful princes.

He foresaw that such a war would expose his crown to new dangers, and diminish his treasures, which he had been at so much pains to amass; two misfortunes which he wished, above all things, to prevent.

As his mind was continually employed in devising means to encrease his wealth, he now formed a design of marrying the widow of Ferdinand king of Naples, that he might enjoy the large dower which had been settled upon her in that kingdom; and, in order to learn the particulars relating to the personal qualities and circumstances of that princess, as well as to discover the disposition of the Castilians towards Ferdinand, he dispatched three persons, in whom he could entirely confide, to procure intelligence on the spot.*

They set out on pretence of travelling for pleasure; but they received letters of recommendation from Catherine, princess of Wales, to her aunt and neice, the two dowagers of Naples; and they were strictly enjoined to send home an exact description of the age, stature, health, features, complexion, temper, manners, and deportment, of the

* A. D. 1505.

the younger queen; together with a particular account of the nature and extent of her dower.

How pleaſed ſoever Henry might have been with her perſonal accompliſhments, he laid aſide all thoughts of his matrimonial ſcheme, when he learned that her jointure, though very conſiderable as ſettled by the marriage articles, had been reduced to an annual penſion, ſince the time that Ferdinand made a conqueſt of the kingdom.

The information which he received from his agents in Spain, was of a very uncertain nature. Ferdinand ſtill remained in the poſt of adminiſtrator, which he hoped to preſerve for life, partly by his influence with Philip's counſellors, ſome of whom he had engaged in his intereſt; and partly by threatening, that, in caſe the archduke ſhould attempt to deprive him of the government, he would marry again, and beget an heir to the kingdom of Arragon: but, at the ſame time, the nobles and people of Spain were more ſtrongly attached to Philip, in right of his wife, than to Ferdinand, who had oppreſſed them with intolerable taxes.

Henry's agents acquainted him, that there was actually a treaty of marriage on foot between Ferdinand and madame de Foix, which

which would certainly take effect, ſhould Philip preſume to diſpoſſeſs his father-in-law of the adminiſtration.

They further informed him, that the marriage of prince Charles of Auſtria, with Claudia of France, would never be completed, as Lewis XII. had determined to give that princeſs to the duke of Angouleſme, his preſumptive heir; and that, if Philip and his queen ſhould remain in the Low Countries, Ferdinand would endeavour to accompliſh a match between the young prince of Auſtria, and Mary ſecond daughter of the Engliſh monarch.

In the mean time, Philip and Joan were proclaimed king and queen of Caſtile, at Bruſſels; though they were hindered from going to take poſſeſſion of that kingdom, by the war of Guelderland and the pregnancy of the queen, who was in a little time brought to bed of a daughter named Mary, afterwards queen of Hungary.

The war being happily finiſhed, and the queen in a condition to travel, Philip prepared a numerous fleet, and, with his conſort, ſet ſail on the tenth of January.* In the channel they were overtaken by a violent ſtorm, that ſcattered their ſhips, and the veſſel that carried Philip and his queen, was

* A. D. 1506.

was forced, by ſtreſs of weather, into the harbour of Weymouth.

The country people, apprehenſive of an invaſion, flew to their arms; and Sir Thomas Trenchard advanced to Weymouth with a ſmall body of troops, in order to repel the imaginary danger.

He no ſooner heard that the king and queen of Caſtile were landed, than he went to make them a tender of his ſervice, and humbly begged they would take up their lodging at his houſe, until the king ſhould be apprized of their arrival.

Philip finding that, on account of the continuance of the ſtorm, it would be impoſſible to re-embark immediately, accepted the invitation with a good grace.

Henry, being informed of their landing, diſpatched Fitzalan, earl of Arundel, to compliment them in his name; to aſſure them that he would, with all expedition, come and embrace them in perſon; and, in the mean time, to deſire they would conſider themſelves as in their own dominions.

Philip, in order to ſave time, repaired immediately to Windſor, where the court was then kept, and where he and his queen were received with all the marks of the moſt ſincere and cordial affection.

At

At their firſt interview, Philip obſerved, that, in being thrown upon the Engliſh coaſt, he was juſtly puniſhed for his want of confidence in refuſing to enter a walled town, at his laſt conference with Henry; and the king replied, that walls and ſeas were of no conſequence, where hearts were open and generous; and that he ſhould be treated with all the reſpect and deference which he could expect in his own kingdom.

Notwithſtanding the hoſpitable reception which Henry gave to his royal gueſts, he was determined to derive ſome advantage from their accidental viſit. He hinted, that, as Philip had altered his condition, in becoming king of Caſtile, it would not be improper to renew the treaty of commerce between England and the Low Countries.

That prince, fully ſenſible of the delicate nature of his preſent ſituation, and apprehenſive leſt Henry, who was cloſely connected with his father-in-law Ferdinand, ſhould find ſome pretext for detaining him in England, and, by that means, defeating the deſign of his expedition, did not think it prudent to make any objections to this propoſal.

The treaty was accordingly renewed, with ſome alterations in favour of the Engliſh; the article, in particular, of the former treaty,

treaty, permitting Philip's subjects to fish on the coast of England, was entirely annulled. These alterations gave so much offence to the Flemings, that they distinguished this convention by the name of Intercursus Malus, or The Bad Treaty.

Henry, having carried this point, resolved, if possible, to obtain another. He acquainted Philip, with his intention of espousing his sister Margaret, widow of the duke of Savoy; and the king of Castile being very well satisfied with the prospect of such an alliance, the articles of marriage were immediately adjusted; Philip promising to give his sister a dower of three hundred thousand crowns, together with an annual pension of three thousand eight hundred and fifty pounds.

Henry, not content with these concessions, seemed fully determined to extort every favour from Philip, which that prince could possibly grant. One day, when he was alone with Philip, he said to him, with some warmth, "Sir, you have been saved upon "my coast; I hope you will not suffer me "to be wrecked upon yours." Philip was startled at this address, and begged to know his meaning. Henry replied, "I "mean, that same hair-brained, wild fel-"low, the earl of Suffolk, who is protect-"ed in your country, and begins to play "the

" the fool, when others are weary of the " the game." " I really thought," ſaid Philip, " that your greatneſs and felicity " had raiſed you above all apprehenſions of " that nature; but, to oblige you, I will " baniſh him my dominions." " I expect " that you will carry your complaiſance far- " ther," ſaid the king; " I deſire to have " Suffolk put into my hands, where alone " I can depend upon his loyalty and obe- " dience." " Such a ſtep," returned Philip, " will reflect diſhonour upon you, as " well as myſelf. You will be thought to " have treated your gueſt as a priſoner." " Then the matter is at an end," reſumed the king; " for I will take that diſhonour " upon myſelf; and ſo your honour is " ſaved." Philip, finding that Henry was determined to admit of no evaſion, aſſumed an air of confidence, and ſaid, " Sir, you " give law to me; I will preſcribe to you, " in my turn: Suffolk ſhall be delivered " up; but you ſhall give me your honour " that his life ſhall be ſafe."

Henry aſſenting to this condition, he ſent a letter to the earl of Suffolk, acquainting him that he had procured his pardon; and the king confirming this intelligence by another meſſage, the earl returned to his own country; and was immediately committed to cloſe cuſtody in the Tower.

But the king had determined that his guests should not leave his dominions until the earl's arrival; and in order to cover the restraint with the appearance of politeness, he entertained them with feasting and diversions; through which, however, Philip could easily discover his intention, and therefore expressed no inclination to depart, until the earl had landed in England.

Then he was permitted to resume his voyage, after having been detained for three months, during which he was created knight of the garter, and bestowed the order of the golden fleece upon Henry prince of Wales.

On their arrival in Castile, he and his queen were received with so many marks of love and affection, that Ferdinand did not think proper to insist on his right of administration; but withdrew to his own kingdom of Arragon.

Philip dying in a few months after he ascended the throne, his queen was so afflicted with the loss, that she fell into a deep melancholy, and at last became delirious; in consequence of which the government of Castile reverted to Ferdinand her father, who continued to rule the affairs of that kingdom to the day of his death.

Mean while, the guardianship of the infant prince Charles, son to Philip and Joan, was committed to Lewis king of France, who affected at first, a great regard for the interest

intereſt of his ward, and appointed the lord of Chevres as his governour.

But it ſoon appeared, that this ſpecious conduct of the French king was merely a farce; for, in a ſhort time, he not only broke his engagement with reſpect to his eldeſt daughter Claudia, who was affianced to Charles, but likewiſe inſtigated the duke of Guelderland to renew hoſtilities in Flanders, leſt a league ſhould be formed againſt him by the emperor, the archduke, Ferdinand, and the king of England.

The Flemings invited Maximilian to come into their country, and aſſume the adminiſtration of public affairs, during the minority of his grandſon Charles. The emperor promiſed to accept the invitation. In the mean time he ſent thither his daughter Margaret, widow of the duke of Savoy, with the character of governante of the Low-Countries; and that princeſs had no ſooner arrived at Bruſſels, than ſhe concluded with Henry a proviſional treaty of commerce, until ſome differences between the ſubjects of the two princes could be amicably adjuſted.*

At the ſame time the ambaſſadors treated of a marriage between the archduke Charles, and Mary, the king's ſecond daughter.

* A. D. 1507.

By the articles of the contract, which was ſigned on the twenty-ſecond day of December, it was ſtipulated, that the marriage ſhould be conſummated, as ſoon as Charles ſhould arrive at the age of fourteen; and that Mary's dower ſhould amount to two hundred and fifty thouſand crowns of gold: a ſum which Henry could very well afford to give, conſidering his immenſe riches, and the various methods he took to amaſs treaſure.

His two miniſters, Empſon and Dudley, ſtill continued to fleece the ſubjects; and in the courſe of this year commenced another ſuit againſt Sir William Capel, on pretence of ſome miſdemeanour during his mayoralty.

He was amerced in the ſum of two thouſand pounds; but provoked at the hardſhips he had already ſuffered, and determined not to be reduced to abſolute beggary, he refuſed to pay the money, in conſequence of which he was ſent to the Tower, where he remained till Henry's death.

Kneſworth, who had likewiſe been mayor of London, and both his ſheriffs, were fined in conſiderable ſums on the ſame pretence: Hawes, an alderman, died of grief, occaſioned by ſuch a proſecution; and Sir Lawrence Ailmer, with his two ſheriffs, being

ing condemned in a fine of one thouſand pounds, he flatly refuſed to obey the ſentence, chuſing rather to go to priſon, where he continued until his place was ſupplied by Empſon himſelf.

By all theſe arts of accumulation, joined to a rigid frugality, the king amaſſed ſuch immenſe ſums, that he is ſaid to have poſſeſſed in ready money no leſs than eighteen hundred thouſand pounds; an incredible treaſure, if we conſider the ſcarcity of money at that period.

But Henry ſoon found that his immenſe wealth was not able to prevent the pains and afflictions to which human nature is ſubject, nor to ward off the inevitable ſtroke of death. He was ſeized with a gout, which gradually fell upon his lungs; ſo that he ſuffered ſevere fits of the aſthma, notwithſtanding which he continued to manage his affairs with great diligence and application, until his conſtitution was ſo much weakened, that he began, in earneſt, to think of his diſſolution.

Nevertheleſs, he ſtill employed the intervals of eaſe in regulating his worldly concerns. He exerted his utmoſt endeavours in order to complete the marriage of his daughter with the archduke; and in the month of December it was celebrated at

London, the lord of Berghes acting as proxy for Charles.*

At the same time, this nobleman borrowed from Henry for the behoof of the archduke, the sum of fifty thousand pounds, in lieu of which he pawned a jewel, called the Rich Flower de Lys, which weighed about two hundred and eleven ounces in gold and precious stones; and the emperor, as guardian and grandfather to Charles, approved the marriage, and the mortgage for the money, which he converted to his own use.

With regard to the match between king Henry and Margaret of Austria, though the articles of contract had been adjusted to the satisfaction of all parties, the king's indisposition prevented it from being accomplished.

Finding, by the frequent returns of his distemper, and the gradual decline of his strength, that his end was fast approaching, he determined to do something that might recommend him to the mercy of heaven: he seemed, at length, to be affected with the miseries which the people had suffered from the extortions of Empson and Dudley: he distributed large sums in charity: and released, at his own expence, all prisoners that

* A. D. 1508.

that were confined for debts under forty ſhillings. Then he made his will, in which he ſtrictly enjoined his heir and ſucceſſor, to make reſtitution of all that his officers and miniſters had unjuſtly taken from his ſubjects; and died at Richmond, in the fifty-third year of his age; after having weilded the ſcepter of England, for the ſpace of twenty-three years and eight months.

Henry was, in ſtature, ſomewhat above the middle ſize; his perſon was ſtrait and handſome; and his limbs elegant and well proportioned, though extremely delicate and ſlender: his countenance was grave and melancholy; his temper was ſour and ſaturnine; in converſation he was naturally ſilent and reſerved, except when he had a favourite point to gain; and then no man was ever more eloquent or perſuaſive.

His reign was more advantageous to his people, than honourable to himſelf. He put an end to the civil wars, with which the kingdom had been ſo long diſtracted: he maintained order and regularity in the ſtate: he depreſſed the exorbitant power of the nobility; and, together with the friendſhip and alliance of ſome foreign princes, he acquired the eſteem and regard of all.

He loved peace, without fearing war: though filled with continual ſuſpicions of his

his ſervants and miniſters, he never betrayed the leaſt timidity, either in the management of his affairs, or in the day of battle; and, though often ſevere, and even cruel, in his puniſhments, he was leſs influenced by a ſpirit of revenge, than by the maxims of ſound policy.

The favours which he granted to his people, were derived rather from his views of private intereſt, than the motives of public ſpirit; and whenever he deviated from this principle, it was entirely unknown to himſelf, and always from the malignant prejudices of faction, or the mean projects of avarice; not from the ſudden guſts of paſſion, or the ſtrong temptations of pleaſure; ſtill leſs from the benign motives of friendſhip or generoſity.

He inherited a natural fund of good ſenſe, which was greatly improved by ſtudy and experience; and ſo high an opinion had the world conceived of his ſagacity and penetration, that many indifferent actions, which were the effect of pure chance, were generally aſcribed to his policy and addreſs.

He poſſeſſed, in a particular manner, the happy art of converting all his domeſtic troubles, and all his foreign diſputes, to his own advantage: hence he was commonly diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Engliſh Solomon;

Solomon; and was univerſally allowed to be the wiſeſt crowned head at that time in Europe.

In a word, his ſoul ſeems to have been alternately engroſſed by two ruling paſſions, namely the fear of loſing his crown, and the deſire of amaſſing riches; paſſions which, however baſe and ſordid in themſelves, were nevertheleſs productive of conſiderable advantage to the nation.

The firſt rendered him averſe to engage in a war without the moſt abſolute and apparent neceſſity; and the ſecond procured him the reſpect and conſideration of all the neighbouring princes, none of whom would venture to incur the reſentment of a prince, who, by means of his immenſe treaſure, had it in his power to put ſwords into the hands of an hundred thouſand men, almoſt at a moment's warning.*

HENRY

* Henry VII. had four ſons, and as many daughters; viz. Arthur, who died in the ſeventeenth year of his age; Henry, who ſucceeded him on the throne; Edmund and Edward who both died in their infancy: of his daughters Elizabeth and Catherine died in their childhood; Margaret was married to James IV. of Scotland; and Mary had juſt been betrothed to Charles archduke of Auſtria, though ſhe was matched with Lewis XII. of France, and, after his deceaſe, with Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk.

Henry, in the thirteenth year of his reign, granted a patent to Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian, for the discovery of new lands; and that adventurer setting sail from Bristol, discovered Newfoundland and North-America, from whence he brought home native Indians.

This voyage he performed about six years after the islands of the West-Indies had been discovered by Christopher Columbus, who, in all probability, would have been employed by Henry, and annexed that country to the crown of England, had not his brother Bartholomew, whom he sent to London with his proposals, been taken by pirates, and, by that means, prevented from making his application to the king, until Christopher had engaged in the service of Ferdinand and Isabella.

It was likewise, in the course of this reign, that Vasquez de Gama, a Portuguese, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and opened a new passage to the East-Indies. Henry VII. seems to have been the first English monarch who began to perceive that the security of England must chiefly depend upon the strength of her naval force. He expended fourteen thousand pounds in building a large vessel, called the *Great Harry*; which was, properly speaking, the first ship in the English navy: for, before this period, when the prince wanted a fleet, he had no other resource than to hire ships from the merchants.

In the year 1498, the king's palace of Shene took fire, and was consumed with all its valuable furniture, to the great sorrow and regret of Henry, who caused it to be rebuilt under the name of Richmond, in allusion to the title which he bore before he ascended the throne; a name, which it retains to this day.

Henry built three houses for the Franciscans, called Observants, one at Richmond, one at Greenwich, and another at Newark; and three for the Franciscans, named

BRITISH MUSEUM

HENRY VIII.

Engraved for Rider's History of England

HENRY VIII. A. D. 1509.

NEVER did prince aſcend a throne with greater advantages than Henry the eighth of England. He had not yet attained to his eighteenth year; and tho' the

named conventuals, one at Canterbury, one at Newcaſtle, and another at Southampton.

In the eighteenth year of this reign, the chapel of our Lady, on the eaſt ſide of the high altar at Weſtminſter, together with an adjoining tavern, called the white roſe, were taken down; and, in their place, was built the famous chapel of Henry VII. In the ſame year, Henry gave the name of merchant-taylors to the company of taylors, of which he himſelf was a member, as ſeveral of his predeceſſors had been before him.

The colleges founded in this reign were, Chriſt's college, and St. John's in Cambridge, by Margaret, counteſs of Richmond, the king's mother; Jeſus College in the ſame univerſity, by John Alcock, biſhop of Ely: Corpus-Chriſti in Oxford, by Richard Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter; and Brazen-Noſe College, by William Smith, biſhop of Lincoln. It was likewiſe in the courſe of this reign that St. Paul's School was founded by John Collet, dean of that cathedral. *Rymer, Stowe, &c. &c.*

the inexperience inſeparable from ſuch an age might rather be deemed a misfortune; this circumſtance was more than counterballanced by the love and affection which the people are always apt to entertain for a young ſovereign, by the indulgence they are ever willing to give to his foibles, and by the joy and admiration with which they never fail to behold his dawning virtues, or even the diſtant proſpect of his virtues.

His kingdom enjoyed a profound tranquillity; he was either engaged in actual alliance, or, at leaſt, lived upon good terms with all the neighbouring potentates; his coffers were full of money; and he ſucceeded a prince whoſe avarice, at the ſame time that it had furniſhed the means of diſplaying, ſerved likewiſe to recommend and ſet off his liberality; ſo that his acceſſion was, every way, agreeable to the Engliſh nation.

His father, in order to divert him from the conſideration of public affairs, had hitherto engaged him in the ſtudy of letters, and he had acquired a competent knowledge of the languages, divinity, and the philoſophy of Ariſtotle; the only ſpecies of learning which was then in vogue.

A ſenſe of his own abilities, which were by no means contemptible, joined to the fire and impetuoſity of his temper, which was

was extremely violent and headstrong, naturally tended to inspire him with such a high degree of confidence and presumption, as at once rendered him a dupe to the flattery of his own courtiers, and to the artifice and intrigues of foreign princes.

He was frank, open, honest, and sincere. His father was not more avaricious, than he was profuse; and, what was still more singular, the earl of Surrey, who had filled the post of lord high treasurer, in the former reign, on account of his resemblance to the king in parsimony and frugality, still retained his place, by his conformity to the gay and expensive turn of young Henry; so that he seemed to have changed his nature with his master.

The other members of the council were, Wareham, archbishop of Canterbury, and chancellor; Fox, bishop of Winchester, secretary and lord privy-seal; the earl of Shrewsbury, steward; lord Herbert, chamberlain; Sir Thomas Lovel, master of the wardrobe and constable of the Tower; Sir Edward Poynings, knight of the garter, comptroller; Sir Henry Marney, afterwards lord Marney; Sir Thomas Darcy, afterwards lord Darcy; Thomas Ruthal, doctor of laws; and Sir Henry Wyat. These men had been long accustomed to the management of public affairs, under the seventh

Henry, and were the leaſt unpopular of all the miniſters employed by that monarch.

The funeral ſolemnity of his late majeſty was no ſooner performed, than the new king repaired to the Tower, in order to deliberate with his council, what meaſures were moſt proper to be purſued in the commencement of his reign. The lord Stafford, brother to the duke of Buckingham, was taken into cuſtody, upon ſome groundleſs ſuſpicion; but was ſoon ſet at liberty, and advanced to the earldom of Wiltſhire.

The biſhopric of Durham having lately become vacant, by the promotion of Chriſtopher Bambridge to the archiepiſcopal ſee of York, the king conferred it upon Thomas Ruthal, doctor of law, and one of the members of the privy-council.

He likewiſe confirmed the general pardon which his father had granted on his death-bed: though this did not comprehend all offenders; for he ſoon after iſſued a proclamation, deſiring his people to enter complaints againſt thoſe who had oppreſſed them, on pretence of ſupporting the prerogative; and, immediately, an infinite number of petitions were preſented againſt Empſon and Dudley, who, being ſummoned before the council, were ſtrictly examined,

amined, and impriſoned in the Tower, until they ſhould be brought to a legal trial.

Though they had violated the ſpirit of the law, and juſtly merited the moſt ſevere puniſhment, they had yet taken care to ſhelter themſelves ſo artfully under the letter of the ſtatutes, that they could not be condemned on account of their exactions, without making ſuch a precedent as might be attended with the moſt dangerous conſequences.

They were, therefore, tried on a falſe accuſation, of a deſign to rebel againſt the reigning prince; and thus, for a crime of which they were entirely innocent, they were ſentenced to ſuffer that death which, by their many other enormities, they ſo amply deſerved.

The next affair that came under the conſideration of the council, was a matter of no leſs importance. This was no other than the king's marriage with his brother's widow, to whom he had been affianced in the life-time of his father, but with whom he had not as yet conſummated his nuptials.

When this point came to be debated in council, the archbiſhop of Canterbury declared, that ſuch a thing had never been practiced in any Chriſtian country; that he

queſtioned, whether the pope had power to grant ſuch a diſpenſation; and that, therefore, he conſidered this marriage as not only unlawful, but even inceſtuous.

His ſentiments were warmly oppoſed by Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, who aſſerted, that the vicar of Jeſus Chriſt was poſſeſſed of an abſolute and unlimited authority; that no other match could be ſo conducive to the intereſt of England; that it would be extremely impolitic to incenſe the king of Spain, by treating his daughter in ſuch a contemptuous manner; that the young princeſs herſelf, was poſſeſſed of many amiable qualifications; was extremely fond of Henry; and, what was of moſt conſequence, was ſtill a virgin; for the truth of which allegation ſhe offered to ſubmit to the examination of a jury of matrons.

The king himſelf was of Fox's opinion; and the archbiſhop not daring to perſiſt in his oppoſition for fear of offending pope Julius II. one of the moſt bold and enterprizing pontiffs that ever ſat in the papal chair, the council reſolved, that the marriage ſhould be conſummated, though not before the princeſs ſhould have renounced, by a ſolemn deed, her portion of two hundred thouſand crowns, as a ſum belonging to the king her huſband.

This

This condition ſhe readily accepted; and the count de Fuenſalida, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, made a like renunciation in the name of his maſter Ferdinand, and his daughter Joan queen of Caſtile.

Then the marriage was conſummated, and the ceremony of coronation ſolemnized on the twenty-fourth day of June, Margaret counteſs of Richmond and Derby, the king's grandmother, dying about five days after this ſolemnity.

Henry, at the commencement of his reign, devoted himſelf entirely to ſports and pleaſures, and thoſe of the moſt extravagant and expenſive nature; ſo that the old biſhop of Wincheſter was highly provoked at the diſſipation of that treaſure which Henry VII. had been at ſo much pains to accumulate.

Mindful of the great credit he had enjoyed under the late king, and hoping that he ſhould ſtill maintain the ſame influence under the preſent monarch, he ventured to complain to his ſovereign of this imprudent conduct, and bitterly inveighed againſt the earl of Surrey for encouraging his maſter in theſe coſtly and licentious amuſements.

But he found, to his great mortification, that all his remonſtrances were fruitleſs and ineffectual, and that he had now loſt that intereſt which he formerly poſſeſſed; he therefore reſolved to ſupplant Surrey, whom he

conſidered as his rival in the king's favour, by introducing Thomas Wolſey, in whoſe abilities and attachment he could perfectly confide.

This eccleſiaſtic, who was the ſon of a butcher at Ipſwich, had already begun to make a figure in the church; and the biſhop of Wincheſter concluding, from his great talents and addreſs, that he would ſoon find means to gain the confidence of his majeſty, procured for him the place of king's almoner.

In the ſummer of this year, the treaty between England and Scotland was renewed and confirmed by the biſhop of Murray, whom the Scottiſh monarch had ſent to London to felicitate his brother-in-law upon his acceſſion to the throne. An embaſſy of the ſame nature arrived from the emperor Maximilian; and Henry nominated Chriſtopher Bambridge, archbiſhop of York, his ambaſſador at the court of Rome, to which he had gone to obtain the confirmation of his holineſs, upon his being promoted to the archiepiſcopal ſee.

It was the intereſt of the king of England to keep an envoy at Rome for procuring intelligence at this juncture, when the pope was endeavouring to engage all the European princes in a general confederacy. He had formed a deſign of recovering all the

the territories which had ever been alienated from the holy ſee; and theſe being chiefly poſſeſſed by the Venetians, he determined to attack that powerful republic.

His ſcheme was approved by the king of France, who wanted to re-conquer thoſe parts of the dutchy of Milan, which the Venetians had either received by treaty, or taken by force, from the former dukes of that country; the emperor was willing to adopt any meaſure by which he might regain ſome footing in Italy, which had formerly belonged to the Imperial crown; and Ferdinand was glad of an opportunity to retrieve, without repayment, ſome places, which he had depoſited in the hands of the Venetians as a pledge for a certain ſum of money. The duke of Ferrara was deſirous of recovering Rovigo, and the Poleſin, which were poſſeſſed by the Venetians; and the Florentines were enraged at that republic, for having protected Piſa, which they had purchaſed, and which, refuſing to ſubmit to their government, they wanted to reduce.

Such were the motives which induced theſe ſeveral ſtates to form the famous league againſt Venice, at Conteray, where the conferences were opened, on pretence of compromiſing the quarrel between Charles of Auſtria, and the duke of Guelderland.

In

In order to conceal their designs from the spies of Venice, they at first signed a treaty of perpetual peace between the pope, the emperor, the king of France, and Spain; but, at the same time, they engaged in a league offensive and defensive against the Venetians.

In consequence of this treaty, Lewis set out from Milan in the beginning of April at the head of a numerous army; while the pope's forces invaded Romagna, those of Arragon attacked Lombardy; the duke of Ferrara entered the Polesin; and the emperor continued at Trent, that he might be ready to reap the fruit of their labours.

Mean while, the Venetians assembled their forces, the command of which was bestowed upon the count de Petigliano, who attacking the French at Gieradadda, was totally defeated with a considerable slaughter.

Lewis, in less than a fortnight after this victory, reduced Cremona, Peschiera, Crema, Brescia, together with all the places which formerly belonged to the Milanese: Vicenza, Verona, Padua, and all the towns of Istria, opened their gates to the emperor: the pope's general subdued Ravenna, Cervia, Faenza, and Rimini; while the duke of Ferrara made himself master of Rovigo; so that, in the space of a few months, the Venetians saw themselves deprived

prived of all their territories, except the ſingle city of Venice, and the five places in the kingdom of Naples, which had been mortgaged to them by Ferdinand, and from which, in their preſent circumſtances, they could derive no real advantage.

Their misfortune proved fatal to the Piſans, who, being no longer aſſiſted by that republic, were forced to ſurrender to the Florentines, after having ſuſtained a tedious and obſtinate ſiege. Lewis, having effected his purpoſe, returned into France, after he had detached a body of troops to join the emperor, whoſe army was in a very indifferent condition.

After the departure of the French monarch, the Venetians had time to recruit their ſpirits, and they now reſolved to exert their utmoſt efforts, in order to retrieve their ruined affairs: they once more took the field with a new army, which kept Maximilian at bay, and ſurprized the city of Padua; they found means to reconcile themſelves to the pope, by their penitence and ſubmiſſion; and they perſuaded Ferdinand to abandon the league, by engaging to reſign the five towns which he had delivered into their hands.

By this time, the pope was become extremely uneaſy at the cloſe connexion that ſeemed

ſeemed to ſubſiſt between the king of France and the emperor; he ſuſpected that they had entered into a ſecret engagement to conquer, and ſhare between them, the whole country of Italy.

In order to defeat the execution of this project, he concluded a peace with the Venetians, on condition that they ſhould relinquiſh all pretenſions to the towns of Romagna, which the holy ſee had reconquered; that they ſhould renounce the right of placing in Ferrara a magiſtrate called Biſdomina; and that they ſhould leave the navigation of the gulph free to all the ſubjects of the church.

He determined to engage Ferdinand in his intereſt, by granting him the inveſtiture of Naples; to ſet the emperor and Lewis at variance; to bring a Swiſs army into the Milaneſe; and to prevail upon the king of England to make a diverſion in France.

The parliament meeting in the beginning of the year,* the commons preſented an addreſs to the king, entreating him to repeal or mitigate ſome late ſtatutes, which enabled the miniſters to oppreſs the people, under the cloak of juſtice; and the king granted their requeſt, with great alacrity.

Mean

* A. D. 1510.

Mean while, ambaſſadors arrived from Lewis of France, to renew the treaty of Eſtaples, which had terminated at the death of the ſeventh Henry; and a new alliance was accordingly concluded between the two kings, to continue in force till the deceaſe of one of the parties.

About the ſame period, Henry received from the pope the golden roſe, a conſecrated preſent, which, in thoſe times of ignorance and ſuperſtition, was held in great eſtimation, and was probably meant to pave the way for the propoſal he intended to make to him, againſt the French monarch.

In all likelihood, Ferdinand was privy to the deſigns of his holineſs; for he ſoon after engaged in a new alliance with the king of England, in which it was agreed, that if the dominions of either prince ſhould be invaded, the other ſhould aſſiſt him, even tho' the aggreſſor might be his ally. The advantage of this article was wholly on the ſide of Ferdinand; for Henry could be in no fear of being attacked by France; and therefore, by ſuch a conceſſion, he fairly betrayed his own intereſt.

But, the truth is, his time was ſo entirely engroſſed with pleaſure and diverſions, that he had no leiſure to attend to the affairs of of the public. He ſeemed to devote his whole

whole attention to tilts, tournaments, maſquerades, carouſels, and concerts of muſic, together with tennis and dice, at which he was cheated of conſiderable ſums of money by a ſet of foreign gamblers, whoſe tricks, however, he at length diſcovered, and baniſhed them his court with infamy and diſgrace.

While he ſpent his time in theſe vain and frivolous amuſements, he devolved the care of the adminiſtration upon his miniſters, among whom Wolſey already began to poſſeſs a large ſhare of his favour; for he was advanced to the deanery of Lincoln, and preſented by the king with an elegant houſe in the ſuburbs of London, which had formerly belonged to Sir Thomas Empſon.

The pope having entered into a private confederacy with Ferdinand and the Venetians, induſtriouſly ſought an occaſion of breaking with the king of France, by filling a biſhopric in Provence, without aſking the conſent of Lewis, whoſe permiſſion he had promiſed to ſolicit before he would diſpoſe of the ſee. When Lewis complained of this breach of promiſe, the pope denied that he had ever agreed to any ſuch condition; and they gave one another the lie in form.

Julius, being thus provided with a plauſible pretence for a rupture, found means, by

by the biſhop of Sion, to excite a quarrel between the king of France and the Swiſs, who being repulſed in their application for an increaſe of their penſion, declared in favour of the pope, and determined to invade the Milaneſe with a powerful army.

His holineſs conducted his negotiations with ſo much ſecrecy, that Lewis, imagining he had no other deſign than to ſeize Ferrara, contented himſelf with ordering Chaumont, governour of Milan, to aſſiſt the duke of Ferrara, in caſe he ſhould be attacked.

But the Venetian fleet and the pope's army having made an unſucceſsful attempt upon Genoa, the king of France began to view the matter in a different light, and enjoined Chaumont to keep a watchful eye on the proceedings of Julius, whom that general accordingly would have ſurprized at Bologna, had not his holineſs amuſed him with a parley, until he found means to make good his retreat.

The pope complained loudly of this inſult at all the courts of Europe, and particularly at that of England. He excommunicated all the generals of the French army; made another fruitleſs attempt upon Genoa in conjunction with the Venetian gallies; ſent for twelve thouſand Swiſs, who immediately began their march for the Milaneſe,

under the command of the bishop of Sion; but finding the passes strongly guarded, and not receiving their stipulated pay from his holiness, they returned to their own country.

Lewis having in vain endeavoured to reconcile himself to the pope, engaged in two successive leagues with Maximilian, by which they agreed to convoke a general council, in order to depose Julius; and they actually drew over nine cardinals to their interest. Mean while, the pope and the Venetians being reinforced by the Spanish army from Naples, his holiness undertook the siege of Mirandola; and the place being reduced, he entered the breach as a conqueror.

When Lewis complained of Ferdinand's having assisted that pontiff and the Venetians, he replied, that, as king of Naples, he was a vassal of the Roman see, and, in that character, could not refuse to protect the pope's person and dominions; but that, in other respects, he would not interfere in the quarrel, but faithfully observe the league of Cambray.

Henry had not as yet interested himself in the affairs of Italy, or indeed in any foreign quarrel that might interrupt his felicity, which was now greatly increased by his queen's being delivered of a son on the

first

firſt day of January,* whom ſhe preſented to her huſband as a New Year's giſt. The joy, however, occaſioned by the birth of this prince, who was named Henry, was of ſhort continuance; for he died in a few weeks, to the inexpreſſible ſorrow and regret of his parents.

Ferdinand, deſirous of engaging his ſon-in-law inſenſibly in their alliance againſt France, concealed his real deſign; and on pretence of undertaking an expedition againſt the Moors of Africa, demanded a reinforcement of a thouſand Engliſh archers. Henry complied with his requeſt, and beſtowed the command of this ſmall detachment upon Thomas Darcy, who, at the ſame time, was created a baron. The Venetians diſpatched ambaſſadors to England, under colour of thanking Henry for the pains he had taken to compromiſe their difference with the pope; but their real aim was to perſuade him to accede to the general league.

The pope advanced Bambridge, archbiſhop of York, to the dignity of cardinal; and conferred the ſame honour on Matthew Skinner, biſhop of Sion: in a word, the confederates exerted their utmoſt efforts to ſecure the miniſters and ſervants of Henry;

* A. D. 1511.

to perſuade him, that the king of France was become too powerful by the conqueſt of Milan, and might, if not humbled in time, form more important projects to the prejudice of his neighbours.

Their endeavours were, at laſt, crowned with ſucceſs. Henry, either convinced by their arguments, or overcome by their importunities, or perhaps prompted by the natural impetuoſity of his temper, liſtened to their remonſtrances, and promiſed to engage in their aſſociation. He iſſued commiſſions for arraying the militia of the kingdom, on pretence of ſecuring the nation againſt all danger, in caſe it ſhould be attacked; and that he might prevent a rupture with the king of Scotland, who, he knew, was a firm ally of Lewis, he named ambaſſadors to compromiſe all diſputes which had happened ſince the laſt treaty.

James, however, found a pretext for refuſing to comply with Henry's requeſt; Andrew Barton, a Scottiſh merchant, having received from his ſovereign letters of marque againſt the Portugueſe, who had plundered and killed his father on the high ſeas, fitted out two ſhips of war, with which he attacked and ſeized all the Portugueſe ſhips that traded through the Engliſh channel.

The

The ambaſſador of Portugal complaining of this conduct to Henry, as an affront offered to the Engliſh flag, he orderd two large ſhips to be equipped, and gave the command of them to the two ſons of the earl of Surrey, who engaged the Scot and took his veſſels, after an obſtinate and bloody fight, in which Barton encouraged his men with his whiſtle, until he loſt his life.

The Scottiſh king was no ſooner informed of this event, than he diſpatched ambaſſadors to the court of England, demanding reſtitution of the prizes, together with reparation for the outrage committed againſt the articles of the peace; but Henry pretended that Barton was a pyrate and corſair, a ſpecies of banditti who were never comprehended in treaties; and James exclaimed againſt this evaſion, as an aggravation of the injury, which he would not fail to revenge with the firſt opportunity.

Mean while, Lewis made ſome overtures towards an accommodation with the pope; but all his endeavours proving ineffectual, he commanded Chaumont to proſecute the war with the utmoſt vigour. That general was at the head of an army, which, though inferior to the allies in number, was compoſed of ſuch brave and veteran troops, that

the enemy was afraid to venture a battle: at length he advanced towards Modena, with a view to inveſt that city; and the pope, rather than it ſhould be ſeized by Lewis, yielded it to the emperor, who now began to diſcover leſs zeal for the intereſt of his ally.

In the mean time, the army of the confederates being hard preſſed by the French, Ferdinand, who ſtill pretended to obſerve a neutrality, propoſed a congreſs at Mantua, which was attended with no other effect than a delay, that proved very prejudicial to the intereſt of Lewis.

After this fruitleſs attempt towards a peace, Maximilian, who ſtill preſerved an appearance of friendſhip with the French monarch, agreed that the council of Piſa ſhould be ſummoned in his name, to meet on the firſt day of September, and conſult about the proper means of reforming the corruptions of the church, in its head and members.

Notwithſtanding this conceſſion, Lewis was far from being ſatisfied of the fidelity of his ally; he had heard of an interview at Bologna, between the pope and the biſhop of Gurch, the emperor's miniſter; and as he knew the dark and artful politics of Ferdinand, and obſerved the mighty prepa-

rations

rations which that prince was making, he ſhrewdly ſuſpected that ſome ſecret plot was in agitation.

Influenced by this ſuſpicion, he ordered Triulzi, who had ſucceeded to the command of his army on the death of Chaumont, to act againſt the enemy with the utmoſt vigour and reſolution. He accordingly reduced Concordia, and advanced to Bologna, from whence the pope withdrew to Ravenna, after having in vain endeavoured to perſuade the conferates to riſk a battle. He had no ſooner left Bologna, than an inſurrection was raiſed in the city, during which the inhabitants expelled the pope's deputy; and, calling in their old maſters the Bentivoglios, put them in poſſeſſion of the government.

The army of the allies, which had advanced to one of the gates, being informed of this diſturbance, betook themſelves to a precipitate flight, leaving their artillery, baggage, and ammunition, to the inhabitants; and to add to the misfortunes of the pope, his favourite the cardinal of Pavia, was ſtabbed by his nephew the duke of Urbino, who charged him with having loſt Bologna by his miſconduct.

His holineſs, therefore, ſeeing his army diſperſed, and all his deſigns upon Ferrara fruſtrated, withdrew from Ravenna to Rome; and

and in his way had the mortification, at several places, to observe the placards for convoking the council of Pisa, before which he himself was cited to appear in person.

In this distress, he signified a desire of compromising his difference with the French monarch; and Lewis agreed to his proposals, provided they should be approved by the emperor: but as soon as the Spanish fleet had arrived at Naples for his service, he began to insist upon such high terms, that Lewis discovering the insincerity of his professions, commanded his general Trivulzi to send succours to Bologna, which, together with the princes of Bentivoglio, he took under his protection.

In the mean time, Julius, in order to defeat the design of the council of Pisa, published a bull, summoning another in the church of the Lateran. When the assembly of Pisa was actually opened, he denounced a sentence of excommunication against that city, as well as Florence, to which it belonged; and laid both places under an interdict. Maximilian still seemed to waver between his alliance with France and the offers of the pope and the Venetians; or rather he remained inactive at Inspruck, that he might avail himself of the misfortunes of either party.

Ferdinand,

Ferdinand, on the other hand, alledged, that his preparations were designed against the Moors of Africa; but he had no sooner gained over his son-in-law Henry of England, than he altered his stile, and openly avowed his intention to defend the church against the violence of Lewis.

He and Henry dispatched ambassadors to the king of France, desiring him to abstain from all hostilities against the pope; otherwise as Christian princes they should be obliged to protect the church which was disturbed by his ambition. Lewis, sensible that this demand was only the result of their former agreement, would not condescend to vindicate his conduct; but returned such a haughty answer as they wanted to receive.

In a few weeks after this transaction, the pope, the king of Arragon, and the Venetians, engaged in a league at Rome, leaving a place for the king of England, who had expressed a desire to be included in it, though his ambassador cardinal Bambridge did not sign the treaty.

Henry hoped to conclude a private alliance, which should be more beneficial to England than this league, which only regarded the interests of Italy, or rather the advantage of the pope; for the declared intention of it was to recover the city of Bologna, and all the other places which had been

been conquered from the holy ſee by any prince or perſon whatſoever.

During theſe negociations at Rome, the council of Piſa held two ſeſſions in that city, though the pope had denounced a ſentence of excommunication againſt all the cardinals and prelates, of whom it was compoſed, as well as againſt all the princes by whom it was ſupported; but the citizens having raiſed an inſurrection on ſome other account, the miniſters were ſo terrified, that they removed the council to Milan, where they imagined they might proceed in their deliberations with greater tranquillity.

Among the princes who adhered to Lewis was John d'Albert king of Navarre, who no ſooner declared for the council of Piſa, than Ferdinand formed the reſolution of ſtripping him of his dominions on that pretence, and determined to uſe the king of England as the inſtrument for carrying his ſcheme into execution.

He told him, that this was a favourable opportunity for re-conquering Guienne, which had been wreſted from his predeceſſors, as the Italian league would employ the whole force of Lewis, and render him incapable of protecting of his own country. That as Guienne was at ſo great a diſtance from England, he (viz. Ferdinand) from his

his regard for Henry, would furniſh him with troops, tranſports, artillery, and ammunition, without expecting any other reward than the pleaſure of promoting the intereſt of his ſon in-law.

This was the true motive which prompted Henry to break the peace which he had lately renewed with France, and to engage in the league with the pope, the king of Arragon, and the Venetians.

In a few weeks after the concluſion of the league of Rome, Henry and Ferdinand entered into another league at London, in the preamble to which they enlarged a great length upon the ambition and impiety of the French king, who had made war upon his holineſs; reduced the city of Bologna; attempted to ſurprize the perſon of the pope, an old, infirm and decrepid valetudinary; attacked and defeated the army of the holy ſee; and refuſed to deſiſt from theſe hoſtilities, when deſired by the kings of Arragon and England, to reconcile himſelf to the ſpiritual father of Chriſtendom. That upon all theſe accounts, they had for the praiſe and glory of Almighty God, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the whole triumphant hoſt of heaven; for the defence, exaltation, and increaſe of the catholic faith, the Chriſtian religion, and the holy Roman church, unjuſtly harraſſed and oppreſſed,

concluded

concluded a ſolemn league and covenant, implying, that the two kings ſhould defend and protect the holy Roman ſee againſt all her enemies: that Ferdinand ſhould take arms for that purpoſe in Italy; and that with the ſame view of defending the holy ſee, they ſhould attack the king of France by carrying the war into Guienne, which ſhould be conquered for the king of England, to whom it originally belonged.

For the performance of this article, Henry promiſed by the month of April in the enſuing year to ſend thither a body of ſix thouſand infantry, to be maintained at his own expence, and not to be recalled without the conſent of Ferdinand, who engaged to furniſh five hundred men at arms, fifteen hundred light horſe, and four thouſand foot on the ſame terms.

He likewiſe undertook to ſupply the Engliſh troops with proviſions and warlike ſtores at a reaſonable rate: and the two kings reſolved to fit out a large fleet for the purpoſes of the expedition.

It was further agreed, that Ferdinand ſhould furniſh forty ſhips, at a moderate price, for tranſporting the Engliſh forces to Guienne: that the places taken in that country, or elſewhere, ſhould be delivered to him of the two kings, who ſhould appear to have a prior title to ſuch territories: that the armies of both princes ſhould jointly

ly exert their utmoſt efforts, in defending the dominions of either of the kings who ſhould be attacked, and ſtand in need of aſſiſtance: that they ſhould adhere to the council of the Lateran, and oppoſe that of Piſa, with all its friends and adherents: that neither king ſhould conclude a peace, or agree to a truce, without the conſent of the other: that this league ſhould not invalidate or annul former treaties, which ſhould ſtill remain in full force: and that it ſhould be ratified in four months by the contracting parties.

Immediately after the concluſion of this treaty, the particulars of which were tranſmitted to Lewis by Buonviſo, the pope's agent at London, whom he had bribed for intelligence, Henry ſummoned a parliament in the month of February,* and informed them of his deſign againſt France, declaring, at the ſame time, that his ſole view was to protect the pope, and diſſolve the ſchiſmatic council, which had been removed from Piſa to Milan.

A war with France was always agreeable to the Engliſh nation. The commons granted a conſiderable ſubſidy; and ſeveral laws were enacted, relating to the conduct of the

* A. D. 1512.

expedition, as well as the preſervation of civil policy. There was one, in particular, againſt quacks, which, it is to be wiſhed, was ſtill in force: it decreed, that no perſon ſhould preſume to exerciſe the profeſſion of a phyſician or ſurgeon, until he ſhould have been examined and approved by the biſhop of the dioceſe in which he reſided, or his vicar-general, on pain of forfeiting ſix pounds a month. In this ſeſſion, the king was pleaſed to repeal the attainder of Sir Edmund Dudley, and reſtore his ſon John to the rank, poſſeſſions, and honours of his family.

He then ſent Silveſter, biſhop of Worceſter, and Sir Robert Wingfield, as his ambaſſadors to the council of the Lateran, with full power to agree, in his name, to whatever ſhould be deemed neceſſary for the reformation of the church, in its head and members.

Theſe meaſures being taken, he beſtowed the command of his fleet on Edward Howard, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Surrey; and that of the army, on Thomas Grey, marquis of Dorſet. The troops deſigned for the expedition in Guienne, embarking about the middle of May, arrived on the eighth day of June in the province of Guipuſcoa, where they met with a very friendly reception

reception from the commiſſioners of Ferdinand.

Admiral Howard, who had conducted them thither, in his return made a deſcent upon the coaſt of Brittany, from whence he carried off a large booty. Henry being informed that the French king had equipped a powerful navy, immediately diſpatched a reinforcement to this admiral; and the two fleets meeting in the Channel, a deſperate battle enſued. In the courſe of the engagement, the Regent, a large ſhip, commanded by Sir Thomas Knevet, grappled with the Cordeliere; which carried the French admiral, who, finding himſelf unable to reſiſt the efforts of the enemy, ſet fire to the magazine, and blew up both veſſels; ſo that every perſon on board of them periſhed, to the number of ſixteen hundred choſen men. This dreadful ſcene interrupted the battle, and appalled the courage of both ſides in ſuch a manner, that they had no inclination to renew the engagement. The French withdrew into the harbour of Breſt, and the Engliſh continued maſters of the Channel.

Notwithſtanding the articles of the league which Ferdinand had concluded with Henry, he had no other view but that of ſubduing Navarre; and therefore his general, the duke of Alva, inſtead of joining the mar-

quis of Dorſet, who had encamped at Fontarabia, in order to beſiege Bayonne, continued at Logrogno with his forces, pretending that it would be imprudent to attack Bayonne, while the king of Navarre remained in alliance with France; becauſe, while they ſhould be employed in the ſiege, he might introduce the French into his dominions; and, taking poſt between the mountains and the ſea, cut off all their convoys, without riſking a battle.

He therefore propoſed, that they ſhould endeavour to engage that prince in their intereſt, before they ſhould undertake ſuch an important enterprize. The marquis, influenced by theſe arguments, diſpatched an Engliſh officer, to require the king of Navarre to join the allies; and Ferdinand ſummoned him, though in a more haughty and imperious tone, to embrace the ſame meaſure.

He replied, that he would obſerve an exact neutrality; but they preſſing him to declare his intentions, or deliver four places as a pledge of his ſincerity, he refuſed to agree to either alternative.

In the mean time, a French army, commanded by the duke de Longueville, advancing to the borders of Bearne, the marquis complained, that the time ſpent in treating with the king of Navarre, had only furniſhed

furniſhed the French with an opportunity to come and ſecure their frontiers; and he demanded that Ferdinand ſhould declare whether or not he would invade Guienne, according to the treaty of London.

The king of Arragon alledged, that it would be extremely impolitic in him to allow his army to march to Fontarabia, and inveſt Bayonne, while his own dominions ſhould be expoſed to an invaſion from the enemy; that it would be more for their intereſt to march through Navarre, and take take poſſeſſion of three or four places by way of ſecurity.

He therefore deſired that the Engliſh troops would join the duke of Alva for that purpoſe; and he did not queſtion but the king of Navarre would accede to the league, as ſoon as he ſhould find himſelf ſo hard preſſed, as to be able to vindicate his conduct to Lewis; in which caſe they might undertake the ſiege of Bayonne with more ſafety and with greater hopes of ſucceſs.

The marquis told him that he had no orders to act againſt the king of Navarre; that, if the duke of Alva thought proper to march through that kingdom, he might follow his own inclination; but that, for his own part, as he was already ſo near Bayonne, he could not think of making

ſuch a long compaſs, as would be neceſſary to join the Spaniſh general.

Ferdinand, not content with this reply, ſtill importuned him to join his army; and in the mean time ordered the duke to beſiege to Pampeluna, the capital of Navarre, which in a ſhort time capitulated; while the king of that country withdrew into France, and engaged in a treaty with Lewis for their mutual defence.

Ferdinand had promiſed, that immediately after the reduction of Pampeluna, his general ſhould join the Engliſh forces, with a view to undertake the ſiege of Bayonne; but now that this place had capitulated, he ordered the duke of Alva to continue his conqueſts; while the troops under the marquis of Dorſet ſerved as an army of obſervation, and prevented the French from entering Navarre; ſo that the Spaniſh general was enabled to reduce the greateſt part of that kingdom without oppoſition.

Mean while, the king of Arragon ſent a meſſage to England, to amuſe Henry with an unfair account of his operations, and deſire he would order his general to act in concert with the Spaniſh army; and as the king of England had received no intelligence to the contrary from the marquis of Dorſet, he readily commanded that noble-

bleman to comply with the requeſt of Ferdinand.

Before the marquis received this order, the duke of Alva made himſelf maſter of St. Juan de Fie del Puerto; and then the king of Arragon propoſed, that if the marquis of Dorſet would join his forces, they ſhould advance directly into Guienne, and inveſt Bayonne: but this propoſal was rejected by the marquis, who conſidered the ſcheme as altogether impracticable; becauſe the French were intrenched between Bayonne and Salvatierra; ſo that he could not croſs the river Bedaſſoa without expoſing his troops to the moſt imminent danger; and, beſides, Bayonne was, by this time, ſo well ſupplied with warlike proviſions, that it could not be beſieged with any proſpect of ſucceſs.

Ferdinand was not ignorant of theſe circumſtances; and the ſole deſign of his propoſal was to find a pretext for throwing upon the marquis the whole blame of not invading Guienne.

That nobleman, provoked at his diſſimulation, and ſeeing his army daily weakened by ſickneſs and want of proviſion, demanded tranſports for conveying them to England.

Theſe were furniſhed, with a ſeeming reluctance by Ferdinand, who, though he proteſted

teſted againſt their departure, as contrary to the articles of the treaty, was very indifferent about their retreat, becauſe he had already ſubdued the whole kingdom of Navarre.

At this time, the marquis of Dorſet being ſeized with a ſevere fit of ſickneſs, the command of the army devolved upon lord Thomas Howard; and juſt as the troops were going to embark, the herald arrived from England with poſitive orders to the general to obey the commands of the king of Arragon.

This news occaſioned a mutiny in the army, which could not be reſtrained from embarking; and when they arrived in their own country, the king was at firſt enraged at the general; but his anger was appeaſed upon hearing an account of the whole campaign, by which it appeared that he had been groſsly deceived by his father-in-law. He thought it prudent, however, to conceal his reſentment, leſt Ferdinand ſhould conclude a ſeparate peace with France, and leave him to ſuſtain the whole weight of the war.

Before the end of the year, the king of Arragon had made himſelf entire maſter of Navarre, which he had no other pretext for retaining but the pope's bull, excommunicating John d'Albert, ſovereign of that country,

country, and beſtowing his dominions upon the prince by whom they ſhould be firſt ſubdued.

While Ferdinand was employed in the conqueſt of Navarre, the army of the allies in Italy, commanded by the viceroy of Naples, laid ſiege to the city of Bologna; but they were forced to abandon that enterprize at the approach of Gaſton de Foix, duke de Nemours, who afterwards defeated them at Ravenna, but loſt his life in the purſuit: then all the towns of Romagna ſubmitted voluntarily to the cardinal de St. Severin, who attended the French army as legate from the council of Piſa, transferred to Milan.

This concurrence of unfavourable circumſtances produced ſuch a conſternation at Rome, that the cardinals went in a body, and beſought the pope to make peace with France: but he had reſources of which they were entirely ignorant.

The Swiſs, by the perſuaſion of the cardinal of Sion, determined to attack the dutchy of Milan; and la Paliſſe, the French general, being informed of their intention, marched to the defence of that country, leaving St. Severin, with a ſmall body of troops, for the ſecurity of the Romagna; by which means the city of Rome was freed from all its apprehenſions, and Julius opened

ed the council of the Lateran, which had been hitherto delayed on account of the defeat at Ravenna.

La Paliſſe had no ſooner departed from the Romagna, than all the towns of that country ſurrendered to the pope: Lewis was obliged to ſend an army into Bearne, to prevent the Engliſh and Spaniards from attacking Guienne: the emperor agreed to a truce with the Venetians, and withdrew his troops from the French army left to ſecure the Milaneſe; ſo that there was a neceſſity for recalling St. Severin, for the protection of that dutchy.

In the mean time the Swiſs, to the number of ſixteen thouſand, began their march for Italy by the way of Trent, through which they were ſuffered to paſs by Maximilian, who excuſed himſelf to Lewis for this breach of treaty, by alledging, that, on account of his alliance with the Cantons, he could not refuſe them a paſſage through his dominions.

Being joined by the Venetians at Verona, they advanced towards Milan; and Paliſſe, finding his army ſo greatly reduced that he was unable to check the progreſs of the enemy, determined to repaſs the mountains, and withdraw into France; whither he was immediately followed by the fathers of the council, which, by a haſty decree, was tranſlated

ſlated from Milan to Lyons. No ſooner had he quitted the Milaneſe, than all the places of that counrry ſubmitted to the Swiſs and Venetians, except Parma, Placentia, and Reggio.

Alexander Bentivoglio abandoned Bologna to the mercy of the pope, who, by a reſolution equally ſudden and ſurprizing, ſaw himſelf re-eſtabliſhed in the poſſeſſion of Ravenna, Bologna, the whole country of Romagna; and the French entirely expelled from Italy. After this run of ſucceſs, the allies held an aſſembly at Mantua, where they reſolved that Maximilian Sforza ſhould be reſtored to the ſovereignty of Milan, and the family of Medicis to that of Florence.

The Florentines agreed to receive the individuals of that family not as governours, but only as private citizens; but the cardinal of Medicis, entering the place while the army of the allies was at the gates, introduced a good number of officers and ſoldiers, by which means he raiſed a ſedition, that made him maſter of the place; and the government was ſettled upon the ſame footing upon which it ſtood before the baniſhment of the Medicis.

A ſecond congreſs was held at Rome, at the deſire of the pope, who wanted to prevail upon the allies to deprive the duke of Ferrara

Ferrara of his dutchy, and to accomplish a peace between the emperor and the Venetians, that so Maximilian might renounce the council of Lyons.

The duke of Ferrara was supported by the king of Arragon, and the Venetians were unwilling to furnish his holiness with men and money to conquer that dutchy: with regard to the peace between the emperor and the republic, it was found impossible to bring it to effect, on account of the unreasonable terms which Maximilian pretended to prescribe.

At length the pope being determined, at all events, to abolish the council of Pisa, and prevent the return of the French into Italy, concluded with the emperor a league offensive and defensive against the Venetians. Maximilian agreed to the pope's retaining Parma, Placentia, and Reggio, saving still the rights of the empire; to abandon the council of Pisa, and forsake the duke of Ferrara and the Bentivoglios.

Julius undertook to support the emperor with all his might, to fulminate the censures of the church against the Venetians, and declare them excluded from the league of Rome. This treaty being signed and confirmed, Maximilian abandoned the council of Pisa, and Sforza was restored to the possession of Milan,

Milan, according to the agreement made by the allies at Mantua.

The king of England, notwithſtanding the repeated inſtances he had ſeen of Ferdinand's diſingenuous conduct, ſuffered himſelf to be again deceived by that prince and his allies. They told him, that, as the commotions of Italy were now entirely appeaſed, they would unite their forces, in order to attack France; ſo that he would certainly retrieve the provinces of Guienne and Normandy.

Henry tempted by this proſpect, and never ſuſpecting the ſincerity of his allies, diſpatched ambaſſadors to Bruſſels to conclude a league againſt France, with the pope, the emperor, the king of Arragon, and Charles of Auſtria, ſovereign of the Low-Countries.

Then he ſummoned a parliament to demand a ſubſidy, which he eaſily obtained; and during this ſeſſion, he procured a bull from the pope, offering a plenary indulgence to all his ſubjects, who ſhould aid and ſupport him in this war with their money or perſons.

Henry being now upon the eve of a French war, would have been extremely glad to live in harmony with his brother-in-law James king of Scotland: but that prince, partly from political motives, and

partly from his reſentment of the evaſive anſwer he had received from Henry, in the affair of Barton, was wholly prejudiced in favour of Lewis. As ſoon, therefore, as he heard that Henry had declared war againſt France, he concluded a new league with Lewis, and began to levy an army for making a diverſion in England, after the forces of that kingdom ſhould have ſet out on their expedition.

Henry being apprized of theſe preparations diſpatched two ambaſſadors to Edinburgh to ſound the inclinations of the Scottiſh monarch. James pretended, that as he was an ally of both crowns, he would obſerve an exact neutrality; but Henry having by this time received intimation of his league with Lewis, conſtituted the earl of Surrey warden of the Northern Marches, with power to aſſemble an army and protect the frontiers from inſult and invaſion.

Mean while, pope Julius II.* dying was ſucceeded in the papal chair by cardinal John de Medicis, who aſſumed the appellation of Leo X. and began his reign in the thirty-ſeventh year of his age.† He

* He aſſumed the name of Julius, in memory of Julius Cæſar, whom he greatly reſembled in his warlike diſpoſition. In his war againſt France he commanded his army in perſon; and as he was marching over a bridge on the Tiber, he is ſaid to have thrown St. Peter's keys into the river, and called for St. Paul's ſword.

† A. D. 1513.

He was more mild and moderate than his prédeceſſor; poſſeſſed a larger ſhare of art and addreſs; and was intimately acquainted with all the political tranſactions of Europe, as he had been employed by Julius in managing the moſt important negociations. Though, while a cardinal, he had not approved of the conduct of Julius, he was no ſooner advanced to the papal chair, than he reſolved to purſue the plan which that pontiff had formed.

He was doubly concerned to keep the French out of Italy, both as pope and a prince of the houſe of Medicis; and he was extremely deſirous of aboliſhing the council of Piſa, which he could not accompliſh, without involving Lewis in ſuch wars as would effectually compel him to make peace with the church.

Ferdinand was no leſs intereſted to keep the French king at a diſtance from Navarre, Rouſſillon, and Naples; and the emperor wiſhed that France might be diſabled from ſupporting the Venetians: but as none of theſe princes were diſpoſed to invade the dominions of Lewis, they wanted to find ſome other power that would undertake this hazardous enterprize; and, with this view, they caſt their eyes upon Henry king of England, who abounded in men and money, and burned with the deſire of ſignalizing himſelf by ſome military achievement.

For theſe reaſons, all the allies endeavoured to perſuade him to engage in a war againſt France; in which caſe, they promiſed to aſſiſt him with all their power and intereſt.

Henry at once agreed to the propoſal; and a new league was concluded at Mechlin, on the following conditions: that, in thirty days after the ratification of this treaty, each of the confederates ſhould proclaim war againſt the king of France, and, in the ſpace of two months, invade his dominions in different quarters: that the pope ſhould launch the thunder of the Vatican againſt all their opponents; and that, in order to ſupport the charges of the war, Henry ſhould ſupply the emperor with the ſum of one hundred thouſand crowns.

Never was there more inſincerity in any negociation: of all the confederates, Henry alone deſigned to perform his engagements. The pope never ratified the treaty: Ferdinand diſavowed his ambaſſador, by whom it it had been concluded; and the Emperor accepted of Henry's money, without giving himſelf any further concern about the matter.

Mean while, the Venetians engaged in a league with Lewis, who immediately ſent an army into Italy, under the conduct of

La

La Tremouille; at whoſe entrance into the Milaneſe, Sforza quitted his capital, and took ſhelter among the Swiſs; who, to the number of ſeven or eight thouſand, had encamped at Como and Novara, where they expected a reinforcement from their own country.

The French general, meeting with no oppoſition, ſoon made himſelf maſter of the greateſt part of the dutchy; while Alviano, who commanded the Venetian troops, ſubdued Peſchiera, Breſcia, Valeggio, and Cremona.

About the ſame period, the faction of the Adornos, who favoured the French intereſt, prevailed at Genoa, which was again ſubjected to the dominion of Lewis; but this good fortune was of ſhort continuance.

La Tremouille, in hopes of taking Novara by ſtorm, attacked the place with great impetuoſity; but was repulſed, with conſiderable loſs, by the bravery of the Swiſs, who, encouraged by their ſucceſs, ſallied forth from the town, and fell upon the French, in their turn, with ſuch irreſiſtible fury, that Tremouille was totally defeated, and compelled to repaſs the mountains with the utmoſt precipitation; ſo that Sforza recovered poſſeſſion of Milan, and

the faction of the Adornos were expelled from Genoa.

Nor did the Venetian general meet with better ſucceſs. He immediately withdrew into the territories of the republic, and inveſted the city of Verona; but Raymond de Cardonna, who commanded the Spaniſh troops, not only compelled him to abandon the ſiege, but purſued him from place to place, until he brought him to an engagement, in which he was entirely routed: a misfortune which ſtruck the Venetians with ſuch a panic, that they were glad to ſubmit their cauſe to the arbitration of the pope, though he had declared againſt them, and ſent a body of forces to the aſſiſtance of the emperor.

During theſe tranſactions in Italy, the king of England was making preparations for his projected invaſion of France. By this time, Wolſey, who had lately been made a privy-counſellor, had gained an entire aſcendant over the king, and was become his principal favourite. Henry was pleaſed to ſee in his court, a clergyman leſs rigid and ſevere than the archbiſhop of Canterbury, or the old biſhop of Wincheſter.

Wolſey ſung, danced, laughed, and played with the young courtiers; and, if we may

may believe ſome hiſtorians, he carried his complaiſance ſo far, as to lend his houſe to the king for his moſt ſecret pleaſures.

Nor was he leſs accompliſhed in the knowledge of ſtate affairs than in the arts of pleaſing. He applied himſelf with great diligence and application to the ſtudy of politics. He repreſented to his majeſty the many falſe and imprudent ſteps which had been taken ſince his acceſſion to the throne. He exclaimed againſt the craft and cunning of his allies, who had taken advantage of his youth and inexperience; and he aſſured him, that it was abſolutely neceſſary, as well for his own eaſe, as the good of the public, to chuſe an able miniſter, capable of conducting all his moſt important affairs both at home and abroad. He himſelf became that very miniſter, and the king relied, with the moſt implicit confidence, upon his integrity and abilities.

The royal favour had the ſame effect upon him which it is generally found to have upon other men: he became haughty, proud, inſolent, and ungrateful: theſe odious qualities ſoon rendered him the object of public hatred; but as his credit with his maſter was great, and almoſt unlimited, and the affairs of Europe were in ſuch a ſituation

ſituation that the aſſiſtance of England was ſufficient to make the ſcale preponderate to either ſide, his friendſhip was courted by the greateſt potentates in Chriſtendom.

The war between France and England being already begun by ſea, admiral Howard ſet ſail with two and thirty ſhips, to attack the French fleet, which rode at anchor in Breſt, expecting a reinforcement of ſix gallies under the command of Pregent, from Marſeilles.

Howard hearing that Pregent was arrived at Conquet, ſailed thither, and attacked him with great intrepidity. In the courſe of the action, his own ſhip grappling with the galley commanded by Pregent, he leaped on board of the enemy with a few attendants; but the French commander diſentangling himſelf, Howard was left in the galley, and ſlain in the confuſion of the fight.

The Engliſh, diſpirited by the death of their admiral, were afraid to continue the battle, and returned to England, where Henry conferred the poſt of the deceaſed upon his brother Thomas Howard.

The French fleet, being joined by the gallies, and animated by their late ſucceſs, ſteered for the coaſt of England, and made a deſcent in Suſſex, from whence they carried off ſome trifling booty.

Henry

Henry having completed his levies, ſummoned his allies to perform their engagements according to the treaty of Mechlin. The pope had never ratified the treaty, and had no intention to ſend an army into Provence and Dauphiné: the emperor was utterly incapable of invading Burgundy: and the king of Arragon had not only agreed to a truce for one year with Lewis, but even included the king of England, without his conſent or knowledge.

Henry, being apprized of this tranſaction, was ſo enraged, that he diſpatched an ambaſſador to upbraid his father-in-law with his diſingenuous conduct, and require him to execute the treaty of Mechlin, which his envoy had already ſigned, in his name, at London.

Ferdinand now diſavowed his ambaſſador, who, he alledged, had exceeded his inſtructions; he pretended that he had been obliged by the neceſſity of his affairs to agree to a truce with Lewis; but he promiſed to act with the utmoſt vigour after its expiration, and adviſed his ſon-in-law to accede to the ſuſpenſion; in which caſe, they would afterwards unite their forces, and exert their joint efforts againſt the common enemy.

Henry would no longer rely upon his promiſes: he was now ſenſible of the inſincerity

cerity of his allies, and ſaw himſelf burdened with the whole charge of a war againſt France, which he imagined would have been attacked from four different quarters at once.

About the ſame period, he received a letter of excuſe from the emperor, acquainting him, that he could not poſſibly enter Burgundy till next year; but, in the mean time, as a proof of his fidelity, he would ſerve as a volunteer under the king of England. Notwithſtanding theſe diſappointments, the king would not loſe the fruit of all his prepartions, but determined to proſecute the war at his own expence.

Henry, before his departure from England, was guilty of an action which has reflected no ſmall diſgrace upon his memory. He cauſed the earl of Suffolk, who ſtill remained a priſoner in the Tower, to be beheaded without any form of trial; though the late king had given a poſitive promiſe to Philip of Caſtile to ſpare the life of that unhappy nobleman, whoſe death was now owing to Henry's jealouſy of the houſe of York, or to his reſentment againſt the earl's brother Richard de la Pole, who was an officer in the French army.

In the month of June two levies of troops were ſent over to Calais, under the

the command of the earl of Shrewſbury and the lord Herbert, who were ordered to lay ſiege to the city of Terouenne. They were ſoon followed by Henry himſelf, who, having conſtituted queen Catherine regent of the realm, ſet ſail for Calais, attended by his two favourites, Wolſey, prime miniſter, and Charles Brandon, lately created viſcount Liſle, with a ſplendid retinue of other noblemen.

While the Engliſh generals were employed in the ſiege of Terouenne, Henry continued at Calais, with a body of nine thouſand men, ready to act as neceſſity ſhould require.

At length, underſtanding that the duke de Longueville was advancing to the relief of the place, he began his march for the camp of the beſiegers; and, on the ninth day of Auguſt, had a conference between Aire and Terouenne with the emperor, who, in three days after this interview, joined the Engliſh army as a volunteer; and received an allowance of an hundred crowns a day, as Henry's ſoldier.

Mean while, the duke de Longueville approaching Terouenne, Henry croſſed the Lys, in order to oppoſe his progreſs; and an engagement immediately enſued. The action, however, was of ſhort continuance; for

for the French were ſeized with a panic, and betook themſelves to a precipitate flight.

Their general, together with the chevalier Bayard, La Fayette, Buſſy d'Amboiſe, and ſome other perſons of diſtinction, fell into the hands of the Engliſh; and this ſkirmiſh, which happened at Guinegaſte, was called the battle of the ſpurs, becauſe the enemy had made more uſe of their ſpurs than their ſwords.

Before the engagement, a body of French troops had endeavoured to force their way into Terouenne; but they were repulſed by the lord Herbert, who commanded in the trenches; and the beſieged ſurrendering the town on the twenty-ſecond day of Auguſt, the king, attended by the emperor, entered the place in triumph.

One would be tempted to think, that Henry had been born to be the dupe of his allies. Maximilian, who had only ſerved as a volunteer at the ſiege, prevailed upon the king to deliver the town into his hands; and he cauſed the walls to be demoliſhed, that the dominions of his grandſon, Charles of Auſtria, might no longer be harraſſed by the excurſions of this garriſon.

It was likewiſe at the deſire of Maximilian, that Henry afterwards inveſted Tournay, though, before the ſiege was formed, the emperor left the army in diſguſt, the reaſon of which was never fully known.

The king of England, after having paid a viſit to Margaret, governante of the Low Countries, at Liſle, advanced directly to Tournay, which ſurrendered in ſeven or eight days, on condition that the inhabitants ſhould continue to enjoy their privileges, and, for ten years, pay an annual tribute of four thouſand livres to the conqueror.

Inſtead of demoliſhing the fortifications, he ſupplied the place with a good garriſon, commanded by Sir Edward Poynings, tho' it lay at a greater diſtance from Calais than Terouenne, which he had diſmantled; but this ſtep he was induced to take by the advice of Wolſey, who had caſt his eyes on the biſhopric of Tournay, of which he afterwards obtained the adminiſtration, on pretence that the biſhop had refuſed to ſwear allegiance to the king of England.

Immediately after the conqueſt of Tournay, the princeſs Margaret, dutcheſs dowager of Savoy, and her nephew the arch-

duke Charles, went thither to congratulate him upon his ſucceſs, and were for fifteen days entertained with tilts, tournaments, courſes, balls, maſquerades, and all kinds of diverſion; though, in the midſt of theſe amuſements, the miniſters of the two courts commenced a negociation that ſoon ended in a formal treaty, which was concluded at Liſle on the following conditions: that Henry, notwithſtanding his agreement with the emperor, ſhould be at full liberty to return with his army to England: that, during the winter, Maximilian ſhould maintain in Artois four thouſand horſe and ſix thouſand foot, as well for the defence of Tournay and the Tournoiſis, as of the archduke's dominions; and, for the ſupport of theſe troops, receive from Henry the ſum of two hundred thouſand crowns, at ſeveral payments: that, before the firſt day of June in the enſuing year, the king of England ſhould attack Guienne, Normandy, and Picardy, and the emperor invade ſome other of the French provinces: and that, before the fifteenth day of May, the emperor, the dutcheſs Margaret, the archduke Charles, the king of England, queen Catherine, and the princeſs Mary, ſhould meet at Calais, to ſolemnize the marriage of the archduke with the princeſs Mary,

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in purſuance of the agreement between the late king and Maximilian. This affair was no ſooner ſettled, than Henry departed from Liſle, and on the twenty-fourth day of October arrived at his palace of Richmond, where he had the pleaſure of hearing of a victory gained by his arms in his own dominions.

During his abſence, James IV. of Scotland, having collected an army, in order to make an irruption into England, ſent a letter by a herald to Henry while he was employed in the ſiege of Terouenne, containing a ſummary of the wrongs he alledged he had received from the Engliſh king; and a declaration of war, in caſe he would not immediately deſiſt from committing further hoſtilities againſt the French monarch.

To this addreſs Henry ſent an anſwer implying, that James did no more than imitate the treachery and deceit of his progenitors, in breaking the peace on falſe and frivolous pretences; that he durſt not openly declare for Lewis, until the king of England had left his dominions: but that Henry being no ſtranger to his character, had made ſuch proviſion for the defence of his kingdom, as, he did not queſtion, would fruſtrate all the attempts of ſuch a ſchiſmatic,

who was already excommunicated by the pope, and the council of the Lateran.

He ſaid, he hoped he ſhould ſoon be able to retaliate his ill offices; and, in the mean time, would take care to cut off him and all his deſcendants, from the hope of ever inheriting that kingdom to which he bore ſuch an irreconciliable hatred. He reminded him of the fate of the king of Navarre, who, for eſpouſing the cauſe of the French monarch, had been deprived of his own dominions. He affirmed that he had never done him the leaſt injury; he aſſured him that he would never own the king of Scotland as a judge or umpire in his quarrel with Lewis; and that he would embrace the firſt opportunity of puniſhing him for his breach of treaty.

James, impatient of delay, did not think proper to wait for this anſwer. In the month of Auguſt, he invaded Northumberland with a numerous army, and ſubdued the town of Norham with ſeveral other places.

This expedition was haſtened by the diſaſter of the earl of Hume, who had been lately ſent into England with a body of ſix thouſand men; and being unexpectedly attacked by Sir William Bulmer at the paſs of Broomhouſe, had been entirely defeated with conſiderable ſlaughter.

This

This misfortune ſerved only to inflame the reſentment of James, and prompted him to precipitate his invaſion contrary to the advice of his nobles, and the importunities of his queen, who beſought him with tears in her eyes, to deſiſt from ſuch a dangerous enterprize.

He lent a deaf ear to all their entreaties and arguments; and ſuffered himſelf to be driven to his own ruin by a falſe punctilio of honour, reinforced by the artifices and intrigues of De la Mothe the French ambaſſador.

The earl of Surrey was no ſooner apprized of his motions, than he ordered the troops of the Northern counties to aſſemble at Newcaſtle; and on the thirtieth day of Auguſt, he was there met by the lord Dacres, Sir William Bulmer, Sir Marmaduke Conſtable, and many other perſons of diſtinction with numerous trains of followers.

James, after the conqueſt of Norham, had waſted ſome precious time in dalliance with the daughter of one Heron a Northern baron, proprietor of the caſtle of Ford; and the Engliſh general determined to go in queſt of him without delay.

On the third day of September, he advanced to Alnewick, where he was joined by his own ſon the lord admiral, at the

head of five thouſand veteran ſoldiers, who had been ſent over from the king's army in France; ſo that the whole force of the earl of Surrey amounted to ſix and twenty thouſand men.

James had entrenched his forces on the brow of a mountain, called Flodden-hill, in the neighbourhood of Ford, where he indulged himſelf in his amorous commerce, ſo as to give offence to the moſt ſober part of his ſubjects. Great part of his army abandoned their colours, and retired to their own country with the booty they had obtained. The earl of Angus returned to Scotland in diſguſt; and the earl of Hume, with ſeveral others, diſcovered ſuch a coldneſs and indifference for the ſervice as was worſe than treachery itſelf. In a word, James ſaw his troops reduced to one half of their original number; but his camp was ſo advantageouſly ſituated, was ſo well furniſhed with proviſion, and ſurrounded with ſuch a train of artillery, that the Engliſh could not attempt to diſlodge him, without the moſt imminent danger.

The earl of Surrey, who was well acquainted with his fiery diſpoſition, ſent a herald with a defiance, conceived in the moſt ſevere and ſatirical terms; and James replied, that he would give him battle on the Friday following.

Surrey

Surrey immediately marſhalled his army, and advancing to Waller-haugh, within three miles of the Scottiſh camp, wheeled off towards the left, along the river Till, which he croſſed, and then directed his route towards the Tweed, as if he deſigned to take poſt between the enemy and their own country.

The Northern provinces were by this time ſo waſted by the Scots; the roads were rendered ſo impaſſable; and the rivers ſwelled to ſuch a height by the exceſſive rains; that Surrey would have found it impoſſible to procure proviſions, or remain in theſe quarters for any length of time, while the enemy enjoyed the greateſt plenty.

The Scots were ſenſible of the advantages of their ſituation; and the earl of Huntley, in a council of war, repreſented them in the moſt ſtrong and ſtriking colours; obſerving, that it would be the greateſt folly to engage the Engliſh on their own terms, eſpecially as they were ſuperior in point of number; and that in a few days the famine muſt oblige them to retire into the Southern parts of the kingdom.

James replied, that he had pledged his honour, which he was determined not to violate, and that he would give the enemy battle,

battle, according to his promiſe. With this view, he ordered his hats, which were covered with ſtraw, to be ſet on fire; and, under favour of the ſmoke, deſcended from the hill, that he might marſhall his troops in the open plain, where he already found the Engliſh in order of battle, and ſo near, that his cannon, planted on the brow of the mountain, could do no execution.

They were divided into three lines: the firſt conducted by the lord admiral; the ſecond by Sir Edward Howard, and Sir Marmaduke Conſtable; and the third by the earl of Surrey, attended by the lord Dacres, and Sir Edward Stanley.

The king of Scotland drew up his men on a ſmall eminence, where he was terribly galled by the Engliſh artillery, planted at the paſs of Millfield. The earl of Huntley commanded the van; the earls of Lennox and Argyle conducted the ſecond line; while a body of reſerve was left under the direction of Crawford and Montroſe; and James himſelf acted as a volunteer in his own army.

Huntley attacked the diviſion of Howard with ſuch intrepidity, that it was immediately thrown into confuſion; but it was ſo ſeaſonably ſuſtained by the lord Dacres, that

that the men recovered their ranks, and the battle became general.

Both ſides fought, for ſome time, with the moſt determined reſolution, until the Highlanders, with their uſual impetuoſity, broke in, ſword in hand, upon the main body of the Engliſh; and, at the head of theſe, James fought in perſon, with the braveſt and moſt courageous of his nobility.

They ruſhed forward with ſuch rapidity, that the other line could not follow in time to ſupport them; ſo that they were ſurrounded by the Engliſh: the earls of Crawford and Montroſe were defeated by the lord admiral, who had now rallied his forces; while the earl of Hume and his men remained inactive, without advancing a ſtep to their aſſiſtance.

In the mean time, James, being almoſt encompaſſed by the enemy, refuſed to leave the field while it was yet in his power. He diſdained to outlive the diſgrace of a defeat; but, diſmounting immediately, formed his handful of men into an orb, and determined that the Engliſh ſhould not obtain a bloodleſs victory.

In this ſituation, he fought with ſuch incredible fury, as again reſtored the battle; and even compelled the Engliſh to ſhun the

cloſe

close fight, and employ their arrows and artillery, which made terrible havock among the enemy. The earls of Montrose, Crawford, Argyle, and Lennox, were slain in the action, with the bravest of their men; and the Scottish monarch fell, covered with wounds, in the midst of his slaughtered subjects.

Thus, loved and lamented, fell James IV. king of Scotland; heaven being pleased to punish him, in his mature years, for the crime of unnatural rebellion, which he had committed against his king and father, thro' youth and inexperience.

The Scots have affected to doubt, whether or not he actually perished in the action. Some have conveyed him to Jerusalem; while others have sent him to the castle of Hume, where they have murdered him privately; but these are vain and chimerical notions, fondly entertained by every nation who lose a youthful and gallant prince,

His body was found on the field of battle, and, being inclosed in a leaden coffin, was transported to London, where it remained unburied, until, at the request of Henry, it was absolved by the pope of the sentence of excommunication, which had been denounced against him, on account of his attachment

ment to Lewis. Ten thouſand Scots are ſaid to have fallen in this engagement; and the loſs of the Engliſh was ſo conſiderable, that they were rendered incapable to improve the victory, and immediately returned into the ſouthern part of the kingdom.

Notwithſtanding the ſignal ſucceſs which had attended Henry's arms during this campaign, he began to grow weary of the French war, in proportion as he diſcovered the inſincerity and perfidy of his allies. After the battle of the ſpurs, the Swiſs, at the inſtigation of the pope and the emperor, invaded Burgundy, and beſieged Dijon, which was defended by La Tremouille, lately returned from Italy.

This officer, finding himſelf unable to reſiſt the efforts of the enemy, agreed to a capitulation with the beſiegers, to whom he promiſed to pay four hundred thouſand crowns, and engaged, in his maſter's name, that he ſhould relinquiſh all his pretenſions to the dutchy of Milan.

The Swiſs received twenty thouſand crowns of the money from La Tremouille, with four hoſtages for the payment of the reſt, with which they departed very well ſatisfied to their own county; but the hoſtages having made their eſcape, Lewis refuſed

fuſed to obſerve the capitulation. That monarch, finding himſelf overpowered by ſuch a number of enemies, determined to make his peace with the pope, who, having no perſonal pique againſt him, and ſeeing the tranquillity of Italy perfectly reſtored, demanded no other condition, but that of his diſclaiming the council of Piſa, which he immediately renounced.

This reconciliation was no ſooner accompliſhed, than Leo ſent a brief to Henry, adviſing him to agree to a peace, as he had declared war for no other reaſon but the defence of the holy ſee, the ſecurity of which was now re-eſtabliſhed.

Henry now began to underſtand his own intereſt. He and his allies had uſed the pretence of protecting the church as a cloak to cover their own private views; and now, that the pope had attained his end, he affected to conſider the preamble to their treaty in its ſtrict and literal meaning. He had been frequently deceived by his father-in-law the king of Arragon; he knew that the emperor was equally unable and unwilling to fulfil his engagements; and he was ſenſible that it would be extremely difficult for himſelf alone to ſupport a war againſt the whole ſtrength of France, from which

which he therefore reſolved to diſengage himſelf with the firſt opportunity.*

Lewis, inflamed with the ambition of recovering Milan and Genoa, determined to create jealouſies and diſſenſions among the allies; and for this purpoſe renewed a negociation with the emperor, concerning the marriage of his daughter Renée with Charles archduke of Auſtria.

Such a connexion would have been very acceptable to Maximilian and Ferdinand; but the pope could not behold the proſpect of it without the utmoſt uneaſineſs; for he was as much afraid of ſeeing Milan in the hands of a grandſon of the emperor, and king of Arragon, as in thoſe of the French monarch. He and the Swiſs were extremely deſirous that the family of the Sforzas ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of that dutchy.

The chief aim of the Venetians was to obtain a reaſonable peace with the emperor, which they could not hope to procure without the ſupport of France; and this they could not expect to receive but by aſſiſting Lewis to recover the Milaneſe.

Maximilian was unwilling to agree to a peace, becauſe he found his account in the war againſt Venice, which was carried on

* A. D. 1514.

at the expence of his allies; and Ferdinand was desirous of embroiling the affairs of Italy, that Lewis might not have time to turn his attention to the kingdom of Navarre, which the Spanish monarch had conquered.

For this purpose he was perpetually changing sides: one while he assisted the emperor against the Venetians; at another he employed his good offices with Maximilian in their favour: sometimes he persuaded the pope and the Swiss to oppose Lewis in his attempts upon Milan; and then he offered to aid the French monarch in conquering that dutchy.

His whole conduct was a composition of craft and deceit, employed to promote his own private interest: but at last his hypocrisy overshot itself; for he lost his credit to such a degree that no prince would rely upon his promise.

Leo, alarmed at the negociation which Lewis had renewed with Maximilian, exerted his utmost efforts to compromise his difference with the Swiss, that he might be less inclined to join the emperor and the king of Arragon; but all his endeavours proved unsuccessful.

Ferdinand,

Ferdinand, apprehenſive of being deſerted by his allies, continued the truce for another year with Lewis; and his holineſs attempted to accommodate the difference between the emperor and the Venetians, that the French might be prevented from returning to Italy.

After ſome negociation they referred the deciſion of their quarrel to his arbitration, and he pronounced a proviſional ſentence, importing, that both parties ſhould lay down their arms: that the emperor ſhould depoſit, in his hands, the town of Vicenza, and all that the Spaniards poſſeſſed in the territories of Padua and Treviſo: that the Venetians ſhould ſubmit to the ſame condition with regard to Crema, and pay to the emperor the ſum of fifty thouſand ducats: that this proviſional agreement ſhould be deemed void, if not ratified by both parties; but that, if they approved it, he would pronounce a definitive ſentence within the year.

This good office, however, he had no occaſion to perform; for his deciſion was rejected by the Venetians, who imagined that the continuation of a fair and open war would be leſs prejudicial to their intereſt than an inſincere and inſidious truce.

Such was the situation of affairs in Europe, when Henry returned from the Continent, and celebrated his victories with all kinds of public rejoicing. A parliament was convoked in the month of January, though no business of any consequence was transacted.

In the course of this session, the king bestowed upon the earl of Surrey the title of duke of Norfolk, which his father had lost with his life, in the battle of Bosworth: by this means his eldest son Thomas Howard became earl of Surrey: Charles Brandon, viscount Lisle, was created duke of Suffolk; Charles Somerset was advanced to the earldom of Worcester: and Margaret, daughter of the duke of Clarence, brother to Edward IV. was honoured with the title of countess of Salisbury, as heiress of her brother the earl of Warwick, who had been beheaded.

The bishopric of Lincoln, falling vacant, was conferred upon Thomas Wolsey by the pope, who had engrossed all the collations of the English sees; and he afterwards constituted Wolsey, administrator of the diocese of Tournay, on pretence of its being deserted by the bishop.

While

While the pope was endeavouring to engage the Engliſh miniſter in his intereſt, Lewis made propoſals of peace to Henry, by means of the duke de Longueville, who had been taken priſoner in the battle of the ſpurs. That nobleman exerted his utmoſt efforts, in convincing the Engliſh monarch of the fraud and perfidy of his allies; and demanded his ſiſter Mary in marriage for Lewis, whoſe conſort, Anne of Brittany, had died in the beginning of the former year.

This negociation was induſtriouſly concealed from every perſon but the king himſelf, and Wolſey biſhop of Lincoln, until both parties had adjuſted the preliminary articles; and then the French king, diſpatching two public ambaſſadors to the court of London, a ſuſpenſion of arms took place, while the affair was in agitation. After ſome debate and altercation, three ſeparate treaties were ſigned on the ſeventh of Auguſt.

The firſt implied, that peace and friendſhip ſhould ſubſiſt between the two kingdoms, until one of the princes ſhould die; and that his ſucceſſor ſhould, within the year, acquaint the ſurvivor whether or not he would adhere to the treaty: that all impoſitions

poſitions laid, within the laſt fifty two years, by either king, to the prejudice of the other's ſubjects, ſhould be aboliſhed: that this peace ſhould not be deemed broken and annulled, by any outrages that might be committed on either ſide: that one prince ſhould not afford ſhelter or protection to the rebels of the other: that both kings ſhould mutually aid and aſſiſt each other, in defending their reſpective dominions; in recovering thoſe territories to which they had a juſt claim, and were now poſſeſſed by other princes; and in caſe either of them ſhould be attacked, on account of this treaty; in which the pope, the Swiſs, and the king of Scotland were included, as the allies of Lewis; while the pope, Bologna, the cities of St. Peter's patrimony, and the archduke of Auſtria, were comprehended as the friends of Henry.

The ſecond treaty imported, that the marriage between Lewis and the princeſs Mary, ſhould be contracted by proxy, and ſolemnized in ten days after the ratification of the treaty: that the king of England ſhould convey the princeſs, at his own expence, to Abbeville; and that the French king ſhould complete the nuptials in four days after her arrival: that Mary's portion

ſhould

ſhould amount to four hundred thouſand crowns: that one half of it ſhould be expended in jewels; that, in caſe of requiſition, Lewis ſhould not be obliged to reſtore above that value; that, with regard to the other half, Henry ſhould pay it by deducting ſo much from the ſum of one million, which Lewis engaged, by this treaty, to pay to the king of England: that the jointure of Mary, ſhould be as great as that which had ever been ſettled upon any queen of France; and that, in caſe of her ſurviving Lewis, ſhe ſhould be at liberty to paſs her days, and ſpend her fortune, either in France or England, according to her own pleaſure.

In the third treaty Lewis owned, that Charles VII. of France had, by the peace of Eſtaples, bound himſelf to pay to Henry VII. of England and his ſucceſſors, the ſum of ſeven hundred and forty-five thouſand crowns, the arrears of which it was now his duty to diſcharge: that his father Charles duke of Orleans was indebted in a certain ſum to Margaret of Somerſet, grandmother to Henry VIII. and that as theſe two debts ſtill remained unpaid, Lewis engaged to remit to the king of England, or his ſucceſſors, one million of crowns, at the

the rate of fifty thouſand livres every half year, on account of the arrears due, as a mark of his regard and affection, and in order to ſtrengthen and conſolidate the peace.

Thus the war, which had been originally undertaken on pretence of defending religion, and promoting the glory of God, was at laſt concluded by a treaty in which neither religion, the pope, nor the church, are ſo much as once mentioned.

Before the ratification of this treaty, the princeſs Mary declared, in preſence of a notary and witneſſes, that ſhe had been compelled to plight her faith to the prince of Caſtile, archduke of Auſtria, who had neglected to fulfil his promiſe of eſpouſing her by proxy, as ſoon as he ſhould have attained to the fourteenth year of his age: ſhe further pretended to have received intelligence, that the counſellors and confidents of Charles employed all their art and addreſs in infuſing into his mind a ſpirit of malice and reſentment againſt her brother the king of England.

The months of Auguſt and September were ſpent in making preparations for the voyage of the new queen of France, in celebrating the marriage by proxy in France and

and England, and in ratifying and confirming the three treaties; and then Mary was conducted with a numerous train of lords and ladies to Abbeville, where the nuptials were consummated on the ninth day of October.

The End of the SEVENTEENTH VOLUME.

BRITISH MUSEUM